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VITHALBHAI K. JHAVERI & D. G. TENDULKAR
64 WALKESHWAR ROAD, BOMBAY 6

15 August 1951

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Mahatma Gandhi's writings reproduced with the permission of the Navajivan Trust

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Foreword

NEARLY three and a half years have gone by since Gandhiji passed away. The manner of his death was the culmination and perfect climax to an astonishing career. Even during his life innumerable stories and legends had grown around him, and now he seems almost a legendary figure, one in the great line of India's sages and heroes and wise men. A new generation grows up to whom he is almost a name, a great name to be revered, but nevertheless a name. Within a few more years there will not be many left who have come in personal contact with him and had experience of that vivid, virile and magnificent personality. The legend will grow and take many shapes, sometimes with little truth in it. Succeeding generations will remember him and pay honour to him. As is India's way, we shall add him to our pantheon and celebrate the day of his birth and the day of his passing away. We shall shout *jai* when his name is mentioned and perhaps feel a little elated in the process and that we have done our duty to him.

What gods there are, I know not and am not concerned about them. But there are certain rare qualities which raise a man above the common herd and appear to make him as made of different clay. The long story of humanity can be considered from many points of view; it is a story of the advance and growth of man and the spirit of man, it is also a story full of agony and tragedy. It is a story of masses of men and women in ferment and in movement, and it is also the story of great and outstanding personalities who have given content and shape to that movement of masses.

In that story Gandhi occupies and will occupy a pre-eminent place. We are too near him to judge him correctly. Some of us came into intimate contact with him and were influenced by that dominating and very lovable personality. We miss him terribly now for he had become a part of our own lives. With us the personal

factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him so intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the India of his day, and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

were often full of laughter and yet were pools of infinite sadness. But the picture that is dominant and most significant is as I saw him marching, staff in hand, to Dandi on the Salt March in 1930. Here was the pilgrim on his quest of Truth, quiet, peaceful, determined and fearless, who would continue that quest and pilgrimage, regardless of consequences.

Jawaharlal Nehru

Pahalgam, Kashmir
June 30, 1951

factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him so intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the India of his day, and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

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Introduction

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When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

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There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

who not only took the leading part in the movement but wrote the best commentary on it.

I never knew that I would undertake this work, although I was eager for many years to examine what Gandhiji did to mould the new thought. In the beginning I was a devotee, then a critic, and am now an impartial admirer. I belong to no particular school of thought, and have had no time, so far, to give my undivided attention to his philosophy as such. I did not always agree with him, but with his all-embracing life and his courage of conviction he has attracted me much more than any other historical figure.

I remember those early years when I read *Young India* with avidity and looked forward to the next issue. For thirty years, Gandhiji fed the minds of thousands and moulded the people's character imperceptibly. With perfect co-ordination between his activities and his writings and speeches, he set a supreme example for the people to follow, though they did not always do so intelligently. Today, it may seem that his influence has vanished and that he alone was his follower. But how can the seeds of great thoughts prove so barren?

Fortunately for India, Gandhiji lived long and led an intensely active life. It touched almost every phase of the nation's activity. His contacts were varied and his experiences unique. He made a gift of his wisdom to the world through his writings and speeches, illustrated by his actions. Einstein wrote: "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

I had the good fortune of receiving Gandhiji's co-operation in completing this work, which involved many years of research and took six years to write. Some of the important speeches and writings were revised by Gandhiji himself for this book. Historical facts have been checked from the original sources as well as from some of Gandhiji's colleagues. *Indian Opinion, Young India* and *Harijan* have been an important source of material, and I am greatly indebted to Mahadev Desai and to some extent to Pyarelal.

To make the work authentic and detailed, I have consulted daily newspapers of the last fifty years. All available literature, in several Indian and foreign languages, has been made use of and the chaff sifted from the grain. In doubtful cases my final authority was Gandhiji himself. When I met him last on January 22, 1948, we

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

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In typing the manuscript which involved tremendous labour, I had the willing help of Bhaskar and Anant Avasare. M. V. Ganesh and C. V. Natesan also gave help.

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D. G. Tendulkar

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii

FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi

INTRODUCTION xvii

PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1

BIRTH OF GANDHI 27

EARLY YEARS 29

STUDENT IN LONDON 34

BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40

UNWELCOME VISITOR 43

DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49

INDIAN INTERLUDE 55

THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58

ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63

VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68

BACK TO AFRICA 73

INDIAN OPINION 78

PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81

BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84

ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91

MISSION TO LONDON 97

BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100

PRISON EXPERIENCE 108

BREACH OF FAITH 114

TO LONDON AGAIN 120

HIND SWARAJ 127

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii

FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi

INTRODUCTION xvii

PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1

BIRTH OF GANDHI 27

EARLY YEARS 29

STUDENT IN LONDON 34

BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40

UNWELCOME VISITOR 43

DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49

INDIAN INTERLUDE 55

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PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81

BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84

ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91

MISSION TO LONDON 97

BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100

PRISON EXPERIENCE 108

BREACH OF FAITH 114

TO LONDON AGAIN 120

HIND SWARAJ 127

List Of Illustrations

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, 1915 Frontispiece

Delegates to the first Indian National Congress, Bombay, 1885 16

Sixth session of the Indian National Congress, Calcutta, 1890

Delegates to the twenty-ninth Congress session, Karachi, 1913

Social reform document, dated November 9, 1890, discouraging child marriage, dowry, etc., signed by the leaders of Maharashtra, headed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak 16

Congress membership form signed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, 1916 16

Rabindranath Tagore reading his poem " India's Prayer " at the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, 1917 16

Gandhi's birthplace : Porbandar 32

Mother : Putlibai 32

Father : Karamchand Uttamchand Gandhi 32

Mohandas at Porbandar, age 7 32

At Rajkot, age 14

With his brother, Laxmidas, 1886 32

Alfred High School, Rajkot 32

Samaldas College, Bhavnagar

Gandhi's matriculation result, 1887 32

Entry in the register of the Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, 1888 32

As a law student, London 40

Gandhi's first letter from London addressed to his brother, dated Friday, November 9, 1888 40

Letter to his brother, dated London, December 1888, containing a draft application for scholarship addressed to Mr. Lally, Chief Administrator, Porbandar 40

His different addresses in London

Application for scholarship, dated December 1888, addressed from London to the Political Agent of Kathiawad 40

Concluding page of the letter 40

Facsimile of an interview with Gandhi published by the *Vegetarian*, London, dated June 13, 1891 40

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A postcard written to Manilal, his son, during the voyage, October 14, 1906 104

Gandhi's letters to Dadabhai Naoroji, 1906-1907 104

Gandhi's letter to Gokhale, dated December 3, 1906 104

Pages from the manuscript of *Hind Swaraj* ; lower half of the second page written with left hand 104

Gandhi at Phoenix Settlement with his colleagues 104

Gandhi in London, 1909 144

His letters to Narandas Gandhi from London, 1909 144

Letter to Maganlal Gandhi from Tolstoy Farm

Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy, dated London, November 10, 1909 144

Another letter by Gandhi to Tolstoy, dated Johannesburg, 1910 144

A draft letter to Gandhi written by Tolstoy on May 8, 1910 144

Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy from Johannesburg, August 15, 1910 144

Tolstoy Farm, 1910 144

Gandhi and Kallenbach with the pioneer settlers at Tolstoy Farm

A leaf from Gandhi's diary, 1910 144

Gandhi's activities as caricatured in South African journals 160

Gandhi's letter to G. A. Natesan, dated Tolstoy Farm, December 9, 1910 160

Letter continued 160

Letter continued 160

Letter concluded 160

Letter to G. A. Natesan, dated May 31, 1911 160

Letter concluded 160

Gandhi receives Gokhale at Capetown, October 22, 1912 160

Gokhale and Gandhi on the way to a public reception

Gokhale's reception at Lord's Ground, Durban 160

Gokhale with Gandhi, Kallenbach and members of the Reception Committee, Durban

Gokhale and Gandhi in cartoons 160

Pages from Kallenbach's diary, Tolstoy Farm, 1912 160

Maulana Azad's *Al-Hilal*, dated Calcutta, December 3, 1913, backs Gandhi's struggle in South Africa 160

At Verulum with Mrs. Gandhi, August 1913 176

Gandhi with Kallenbach and Miss Schlesin, before the historic march of 1913 176

On march through Volksrust crossing into the Transvaal 176

Gandhi after his arrest, 1913 176

Gandhi's prison ticket, Bloemfontein, 1913-14 176

Epic March : Oct.-Nov. 1913 with 2,037 men, 127 women, 75 children, Newcastle to Volksrust 176

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It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248

Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248

Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248

Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248

Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, " Hridaya Kunj " 248

Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280

Rare pictures of Gandhi 280

Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280

Lal, Bal, Pal 280

Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918

Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280

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Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312

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Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312

Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312

Gandhi in " Gandhi cap " invented by him, 1920 344

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Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

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Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, "The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 368

The article concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on "The music of the spinning wheel" dated July 21, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's article, "The First of August," in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 368

"The First of August" concluded 368

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"Lokamanya" concluded 368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

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Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

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craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900—130 years—there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920 344

Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, " The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 368

The article concluded 368

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Manuscript of Gandhi's article, " The First of August, " in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 368

" The First of August " concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920 368

" Lokamanya " concluded 368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248

Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248

Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248

Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248

Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248

Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280

Rare pictures of Gandhi 280

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Lal, Bal, Pal 280

Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918

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A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280

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Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312

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Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344

Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344

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Agarkar and Tilak started the New English School, the English weekly *Mahratta*, and the Marathi weekly *Kesari* to propagate and prepare the people for national service. The triumvirate rose rapidly to prominence. In 1896 as a result of the unbridgeable gulf between Tilak's extremist school and Ranade's moderate school of thought, the Deccan Association was inaugurated by Ranade and his pupil Gokhale.

After Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Dadabhai Naoroji, who was born in Bombay in 1825, occupied the most significant position. He was the founder in India and in England of more than thirty institutions. In the teeth of opposition Dadabhai laid the foundation of women's education in Bombay in 1849. In 1851 he started a Gujarati journal, *Rast Goftar*, as the organ of progressive views on social, religious and educational reforms. The first Indian to be a professor, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Physics at the Elphinstone College in 1854. Next year he accepted the offer to join the commercial firm of the Camas in London as he was "desirous of seeing an intimate connection established between England and India", and "particularly to provide home for young Indians so that they might freely go to England and compete for the Indian Civil Service and other services." Dadabhai, however, resigned his partnership in 1858 because he could not persuade himself to pocket earnings derived from dealings in opium, wine and spirits which led to the ruin of thousands. Dadabhai worked as Professor of Gujarati in University College, London, and actively participated in several institutions. Dadabhai founded in 1866 what is now known as the East India Association. He became an unofficial ambassador for India and worked for her in every field. In 1874 he was appointed a minister in the Baroda state and in 1885 he was nominated an additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He was elected a Member of Parliament in 1892, the first Indian so elected. His greatest gift to posterity was *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, published in 1901. He presided thrice over the Indian National Congress. In 1904 he attended the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam representing the people of India. The delegates leapt to their feet and stood uncovered before him in solemn silence to mark their respect for India's representative. On hearing Dadabhai, the Amsterdam Congress passed a resolution that it "brands Great Britain with the mark of shame for its treatment of India". The Grand Old Man of India died in 1917 at the age of ninety-two.

Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248
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The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

assemblage exhorted the audience to unite and organize themselves for the country's cause. Calcutta's lead was followed by Madras, Bombay and Poona. In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India during the next Christmas. This can be said to be the origin of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of which marks the most important event in the political history of India. Poona was considered the most central and, therefore, suitable place. The following circular was issued:

"A conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The conference will be composed of delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the conference will be: (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a native parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres."

The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred and the conference, now called the Congress, was moved to Bombay. The historic session of the first Congress began on December 28, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. There seventy-two representatives who elected themselves as delegates met and discussed the programme, while another thirty or so attended as friends, being as Government servants precluded from acting as representatives in a political gathering, among whom the most noteworthy were Justice Ranade and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar. Among those who participated were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Narendranath Sen. The first voices heard were those of Allan Octavian Hume, S. Subramania Iyer and Telang

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शपथ पत्रिका.

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१ आह्मी आपले मुलीचा विवाह १४ वर्षांचे आंत करणारनाहीं
२ त्याचप्रमाणें मुलाचें लग्न तेवीस वर्षांचा होईपर्यंत करणारनाहीं.
३ स्वतःचे पुनः लग्न करणेंझाल्यास १६ वर्षांचे आतील मुलीशीं करणार नाहीं.
४ मुलाचा हुंडा किंवा मुलीचे पैसे घेणारनाहीं
५ दारू पिणारनाहीं.
६ तीस वर्षांचे आत आमच्या लाब्यांतील नवीन विधवेचें वपन करूं देणारनाहीं.
७ आपल्या प्राप्तीचा निदान १/२० एक वीसांश आमच्या प्रमाणें शपथ घेणाऱ्या मंडळीच्या सार्वजनिक कामाकडे देत जाऊं

येणेंप्रमाणें सत्यास स्मरून शपथ घेतली आहे. याप्रमाणें आमच्या हातून न घडल्यास मंडळीच्या नियमाप्रमाणें जो निर्णय होईल तो कबूल करून ते देतील ती शिक्षा भोगण्यास आह्मी कबूल आहोंत

तारीख ९ माहे नोव्हेंबर १८९० (रविवार)

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]
5 [illegible]
6 [illegible]
7 [illegible]
8 [illegible]
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10 L K Chiplunkar
11 [illegible]
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16 [illegible]
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18 [illegible]
19 [illegible]
20 [illegible]
21 [illegible]
22 [illegible] Krishnaji [illegible]
23 [illegible] Ramchandra [illegible]
24 [illegible]
25 [illegible] Krishna [illegible]
26 [illegible]
27 Gokul [illegible]
28 Raghunath Narayan [illegible]
29 Sakharam Vaman Tilak
30 [illegible]
31 Vinayak Narayan Apte
32 [illegible]
33 [illegible]
34 [illegible] with the condition on a further page
35 [illegible]
36 Vaman Kishan Lele.
37 Keshav Balkrishna Paranjpe of Bombay Girgaum
38 H. A. Gokhale
39 Vishnu Balkrishna [illegible]
40 [illegible]
41 [illegible]

Courtesy: Chitrashala Press. Poona

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We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

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growing and spreading over India—'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them. Be sure that before long the Muslims will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you,' and so forth." The Moderates pinned their hopes on Lord Morley, the author of *Compromise*. Whilst the Government of India were following a policy of ruthless repression against the Extremists, they were evolving a strategy to rally the Moderates, the Muslims, the landlords and the princes to their side. On November 2, 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's Proclamation, King Edward VII sent a message to the princes and people of India foreshadowing political reforms. On December 17 Lord Morley placed reforms proposals before Parliament. The Indian National Congress which met at Madras, shorn of its left wing, gave a hearty welcome to the Morley-Minto scheme. It became the Indian Councils Act, 1909, on May 15, and was put into force on November 15. Much water flowed down the bridges during 1908–9. The reforms were severely criticized even by the Moderates. This Pandora's box had a history behind it.

A Muslim deputation headed by the Aga Khan presented to Lord Minto an address on October 1, 1906. It was a long document, and it made two important demands on behalf of the Muslim community. First, that "the position accorded to the Muslim community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength, but also with the practical importance and the value of the contributions which they make to the defence of the empire" and with due regard to "the position they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago". Secondly, in the proposed reforms they should be given the right of sending their own representatives themselves through separate communal electorates. It was an open secret that the deputation was a "command performance", as Maulana Mahomed Ali later called it. Lord Minto in his reply accepted the position taken up by the deputation. He said, "I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent."

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii

FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi

INTRODUCTION xvii

PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1

BIRTH OF GANDHI 27

EARLY YEARS 29

STUDENT IN LONDON 34

BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40

UNWELCOME VISITOR 43

DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49

INDIAN INTERLUDE 55

THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58

ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63

VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68

BACK TO AFRICA 73

INDIAN OPINION 78

PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81

BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84

ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91

MISSION TO LONDON 97

BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100

PRISON EXPERIENCE 108

BREACH OF FAITH 114

TO LONDON AGAIN 120

HIND SWARAJ 127

We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

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It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League	344
Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920	344
Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference	344
Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press	344
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920	344
A caricature of Gandhi, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, " The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920	368
The article concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on " The music of the spinning wheel " dated July 21, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's article, " The First of August, " in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920	368
" The First of August " concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920	368
" Lokamanya " concluded	368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

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The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

Agarkar and Tilak started the New English School, the English weekly *Mahratta*, and the Marathi weekly *Kesari* to propagate and prepare the people for national service. The triumvirate rose rapidly to prominence. In 1896 as a result of the unbridgeable gulf between Tilak's extremist school and Ranade's moderate school of thought, the Deccan Association was inaugurated by Ranade and his pupil Gokhale.

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List Of Illustrations

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, 1915	Frontispiece
Delegates to the first Indian National Congress, Bombay, 1885	16
Sixth session of the Indian National Congress, Calcutta, 1890	
Delegates to the twenty-ninth Congress session, Karachi, 1913	
Social reform document, dated November 9, 1890, discouraging child marriage, dowry, etc., signed by the leaders of Maharashtra, headed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak	16
Congress membership form signed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, 1916	16
Rabindranath Tagore reading his poem " India's Prayer " at the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, 1917	16
Gandhi's birthplace : Porbandar	32
Mother : Putlibai	32
Father : Karamchand Uttamchand Gandhi	32
Mohandas at Porbandar, age 7	32
At Rajkot, age 14	
With his brother, Laxmidas, 1886	32
Alfred High School, Rajkot	32
Samaldas College, Bhavnagar	
Gandhi's matriculation result, 1887	32
Entry in the register of the Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, 1888	32
As a law student, London	40
Gandhi's first letter from London addressed to his brother, dated Friday, November 9, 1888	40
Letter to his brother, dated London, December 1888, containing a draft application for scholarship addressed to Mr. Lally, Chief Administrator, Porbandar	40
His different addresses in London	
Application for scholarship, dated December 1888, addressed from London to the Political Agent of Kathiawad	40
Concluding page of the letter	40
Facsimile of an interview with Gandhi published by the *Vegetarian*, London, dated June 13, 1891	40

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Introduction

I CANNOT trace the origin of this book because it has written itself and it reflects the times in which I and my generation have grown. It is a dream-world from which I have not emerged. Gandhiji and his story are present all the time before my mind's eye. He is moving among us and talking to us, as he did only a few years ago. His death is but a small incident; he courted it and defied it many a time. It is only the finale to a majestic symphony.

When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

ROLL CALL OF THE SAMALDAS COLLEGE FOR THE MONTH OF [illegible]

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Courtesy : *Principal, Samaldas College*

Entry in the register of the Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, 1888

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

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Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

Student In London

1888–1891

IN COMPANY with a Junagadh lawyer, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, aged nineteen, sailed from Bombay on September 4, 1888, reaching Southampton at the end of the month. He carried with him four letters of introduction to Dr. P. J. Mehta, Mr. Dalpatram Shukla, the great cricketer Prince Ranjitsinhji, and the most precious one to Dadabhai Naoroji. Actually the Maharashtrian friend who gave the note had never known Dadabhai personally. But he thought it might induce the shy Mohandas to meet the easily accessible Dadabhai who had recently presided over the second Congress held at Calcutta in 1886.

On the steamer, young Gandhi wore a black suit. Most of the time he confined himself to his cabin and being shy he ate food there. He touched no meat or wine on the journey and his meals consisted only of sweets and fruits which he had brought with him. Mohandas even secured a certificate from a fellow passenger that he ate no meat on the steamer. He stepped ashore in white flannels, the only person wearing such clothes.

Dr. Mehta, a friend of the Gandhi family, came to see Mohandas on the day of his arrival in London at the Victoria Hotel. Gandhi was intrigued to see his silken top hat and out of curiosity passed his hand over it in the wrong way and disturbed the fur. Immediately Dr. Mehta gave him the first lesson in European etiquette: "Do not touch other people's things. Do not ask questions as we do in India at first acquaintance; do not talk loudly. Never address people as 'Sir' whilst speaking to them as we do in India, only servants and subordinates address their master that way."

Gandhi found everything around him strange; he would continually think of his home and country. On the fourth day of his arrival he shifted from the hotel, which had cost him one pound a day, to less expensive quarters in a boarding-house kept by an English

craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

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who not only took the leading part in the movement but wrote the best commentary on it.

I never knew that I would undertake this work, although I was eager for many years to examine what Gandhiji did to mould the new thought. In the beginning I was a devotee, then a critic, and am now an impartial admirer. I belong to no particular school of thought, and have had no time, so far, to give my undivided attention to his philosophy as such. I did not always agree with him, but with his all-embracing life and his courage of conviction he has attracted me much more than any other historical figure.

I remember those early years when I read *Young India* with avidity and looked forward to the next issue. For thirty years, Gandhiji fed the minds of thousands and moulded the people's character imperceptibly. With perfect co-ordination between his activities and his writings and speeches, he set a supreme example for the people to follow, though they did not always do so intelligently. Today, it may seem that his influence has vanished and that he alone was his follower. But how can the seeds of great thoughts prove so barren?

Fortunately for India, Gandhiji lived long and led an intensely active life. It touched almost every phase of the nation's activity. His contacts were varied and his experiences unique. He made a gift of his wisdom to the world through his writings and speeches, illustrated by his actions. Einstein wrote: "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

I had the good fortune of receiving Gandhiji's co-operation in completing this work, which involved many years of research and took six years to write. Some of the important speeches and writings were revised by Gandhiji himself for this book. Historical facts have been checked from the original sources as well as from some of Gandhiji's colleagues. *Indian Opinion, Young India* and *Harijan* have been an important source of material, and I am greatly indebted to Mahadev Desai and to some extent to Pyarelal.

To make the work authentic and detailed, I have consulted daily newspapers of the last fifty years. All available literature, in several Indian and foreign languages, has been made use of and the chaff sifted from the grain. In doubtful cases my final authority was Gandhiji himself. When I met him last on January 22, 1948, we

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A postcard written to Manilal, his son, during the voyage, October 14, 1906 — 104

Gandhi's letters to Dadabhai Naoroji, 1906-1907 — 104

Gandhi's letter to Gokhale, dated December 3, 1906 — 104

Pages from the manuscript of *Hind Swaraj* ; lower half of the second page written with left hand — 104

Gandhi at Phoenix Settlement with his colleagues — 104

Gandhi in London, 1909 — 144

His letters to Narandas Gandhi from London, 1909 — 144

Letter to Maganlal Gandhi from Tolstoy Farm

Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy, dated London, November 10, 1909 — 144

Another letter by Gandhi to Tolstoy, dated Johannesburg, 1910 — 144

A draft letter to Gandhi written by Tolstoy on May 8, 1910 — 144

Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy from Johannesburg, August 15, 1910 — 144

Tolstoy Farm, 1910 — 144

Gandhi and Kallenbach with the pioneer settlers at Tolstoy Farm

A leaf from Gandhi's diary, 1910 — 144

Gandhi's activities as caricatured in South African journals — 160

Gandhi's letter to G. A. Natesan, dated Tolstoy Farm, December 9, 1910 — 160

Letter continued — 160

Letter continued — 160

Letter concluded — 160

Letter to G. A. Natesan, dated May 31, 1911 — 160

Letter concluded — 160

Gandhi receives Gokhale at Capetown, October 22, 1912 — 160

Gokhale and Gandhi on the way to a public reception

Gokhale's reception at Lord's Ground, Durban — 160

Gokhale with Gandhi, Kallenbach and members of the Reception Committee, Durban

Gokhale and Gandhi in cartoons — 160

Pages from Kallenbach's diary, Tolstoy Farm, 1912 — 160

Maulana Azad's *Al-Hilal*, dated Calcutta, December 3, 1913, backs Gandhi's struggle in South Africa — 160

At Verulum with Mrs. Gandhi, August 1913 — 176

Gandhi with Kallenbach and Miss Schlesin, before the historic march of 1913 — 176

On march through Volksrust crossing into the Transvaal — 176

Gandhi after his arrest, 1913 — 176

Gandhi's prison ticket, Bloemfontein, 1913-14 — 176

Epic March : Oct.-Nov. 1913 with 2,037 men, 127 women, 75 children, Newcastle to Volksrust — 176

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The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

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The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

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hundred and ninety one and has paid all duties to the
House and to the Officers thereunto belonging

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand
and the Seal of the said Society this eleventh day of
June in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred
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Treasurer

Courtesy : Bombay High Cou

Gandhi's Bar-at-Law certificate, 1891

who not only took the leading part in the movement but wrote the best commentary on it.

I never knew that I would undertake this work, although I was eager for many years to examine what Gandhiji did to mould the new thought. In the beginning I was a devotee, then a critic, and am now an impartial admirer. I belong to no particular school of thought, and have had no time, so far, to give my undivided attention to his philosophy as such. I did not always agree with him, but with his all-embracing life and his courage of conviction he has attracted me much more than any other historical figure.

I remember those early years when I read *Young India* with avidity and looked forward to the next issue. For thirty years, Gandhiji fed the minds of thousands and moulded the people's character imperceptibly. With perfect co-ordination between his activities and his writings and speeches, he set a supreme example for the people to follow, though they did not always do so intelligently. Today, it may seem that his influence has vanished and that he alone was his follower. But how can the seeds of great thoughts prove so barren?

Fortunately for India, Gandhiji lived long and led an intensely active life. It touched almost every phase of the nation's activity. His contacts were varied and his experiences unique. He made a gift of his wisdom to the world through his writings and speeches, illustrated by his actions. Einstein wrote: "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

I had the good fortune of receiving Gandhiji's co-operation in completing this work, which involved many years of research and took six years to write. Some of the important speeches and writings were revised by Gandhiji himself for this book. Historical facts have been checked from the original sources as well as from some of Gandhiji's colleagues. *Indian Opinion, Young India* and *Harijan* have been an important source of material, and I am greatly indebted to Mahadev Desai and to some extent to Pyarelal.

To make the work authentic and detailed, I have consulted daily newspapers of the last fifty years. All available literature, in several Indian and foreign languages, has been made use of and the chaff sifted from the grain. In doubtful cases my final authority was Gandhiji himself. When I met him last on January 22, 1948, we

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

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Courtesy: Bombay High Court

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assemblage exhorted the audience to unite and organize themselves for the country's cause. Calcutta's lead was followed by Madras, Bombay and Poona. In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India during the next Christmas. This can be said to be the origin of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of which marks the most important event in the political history of India. Poona was considered the most central and, therefore, suitable place. The following circular was issued:

"A conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The conference will be composed of delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the conference will be: (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a native parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres."

The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred and the conference, now called the Congress, was moved to Bombay. The historic session of the first Congress began on December 28, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. There seventy-two representatives who elected themselves as delegates met and discussed the programme, while another thirty or so attended as friends, being as Government servants precluded from acting as representatives in a political gathering, among whom the most noteworthy were Justice Ranade and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar. Among those who participated were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Narendranath Sen. The first voices heard were those of Allan Octavian Hume, S. Subramania Iyer and Telang

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Introduction

I CANNOT trace the origin of this book because it has written itself and it reflects the times in which I and my generation have grown. It is a dream-world from which I have not emerged. Gandhiji and his story are present all the time before my mind's eye. He is moving among us and talking to us, as he did only a few years ago. His death is but a small incident; he courted it and defied it many a time. It is only the finale to a majestic symphony.

When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

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We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

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factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him so intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the India of his day, and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

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Agarkar and Tilak started the New English School, the English weekly *Mahratta*, and the Marathi weekly *Kesari* to propagate and prepare the people for national service. The triumvirate rose rapidly to prominence. In 1896 as a result of the unbridgeable gulf between Tilak's extremist school and Ranade's moderate school of thought, the Deccan Association was inaugurated by Ranade and his pupil Gokhale.

After Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Dadabhai Naoroji, who was born in Bombay in 1825, occupied the most significant position. He was the founder in India and in England of more than thirty institutions. In the teeth of opposition Dadabhai laid the foundation of women's education in Bombay in 1849. In 1851 he started a Gujarati journal, *Rast Goftar*, as the organ of progressive views on social, religious and educational reforms. The first Indian to be a professor, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Physics at the Elphinstone College in 1854. Next year he accepted the offer to join the commercial firm of the Camas in London as he was "desirous of seeing an intimate connection established between England and India", and "particularly to provide home for young Indians so that they might freely go to England and compete for the Indian Civil Service and other services." Dadabhai, however, resigned his partnership in 1858 because he could not persuade himself to pocket earnings derived from dealings in opium, wine and spirits which led to the ruin of thousands. Dadabhai worked as Professor of Gujarati in University College, London, and actively participated in several institutions. Dadabhai founded in 1866 what is now known as the East India Association. He became an unofficial ambassador for India and worked for her in every field. In 1874 he was appointed a minister in the Baroda state and in 1885 he was nominated an additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He was elected a Member of Parliament in 1892, the first Indian so elected. His greatest gift to posterity was *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, published in 1901. He presided thrice over the Indian National Congress. In 1904 he attended the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam representing the people of India. The delegates leapt to their feet and stood uncovered before him in solemn silence to mark their respect for India's representative. On hearing Dadabhai, the Amsterdam Congress passed a resolution that it "brands Great Britain with the mark of shame for its treatment of India". The Grand Old Man of India died in 1917 at the age of ninety-two.

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who not only took the leading part in the movement but wrote the best commentary on it.

I never knew that I would undertake this work, although I was eager for many years to examine what Gandhiji did to mould the new thought. In the beginning I was a devotee, then a critic, and am now an impartial admirer. I belong to no particular school of thought, and have had no time, so far, to give my undivided attention to his philosophy as such. I did not always agree with him, but with his all-embracing life and his courage of conviction he has attracted me much more than any other historical figure.

I remember those early years when I read *Young India* with avidity and looked forward to the next issue. For thirty years, Gandhiji fed the minds of thousands and moulded the people's character imperceptibly. With perfect co-ordination between his activities and his writings and speeches, he set a supreme example for the people to follow, though they did not always do so intelligently. Today, it may seem that his influence has vanished and that he alone was his follower. But how can the seeds of great thoughts prove so barren ?

Fortunately for India, Gandhiji lived long and led an intensely active life. It touched almost every phase of the nation's activity. His contacts were varied and his experiences unique. He made a gift of his wisdom to the world through his writings and speeches, illustrated by his actions. Einstein wrote : "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

I had the good fortune of receiving Gandhiji's co-operation in completing this work, which involved many years of research and took six years to write. Some of the important speeches and writings were revised by Gandhiji himself for this book. Historical facts have been checked from the original sources as well as from some of Gandhiji's colleagues. *Indian Opinion, Young India* and *Harijan* have been an important source of material, and I am greatly indebted to Mahadev Desai and to some extent to Pyarelal.

To make the work authentic and detailed, I have consulted daily newspapers of the last fifty years. All available literature, in several Indian and foreign languages, has been made use of and the chaff sifted from the grain. In doubtful cases my final authority was Gandhiji himself. When I met him last on January 22, 1948, we

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii

FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi

INTRODUCTION xvii

PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1

BIRTH OF GANDHI 27

EARLY YEARS 29

STUDENT IN LONDON 34

BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40

UNWELCOME VISITOR 43

DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49

INDIAN INTERLUDE 55

THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58

ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63

VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68

BACK TO AFRICA 73

INDIAN OPINION 78

PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81

BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84

ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91

MISSION TO LONDON 97

BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100

PRISON EXPERIENCE 108

BREACH OF FAITH 114

TO LONDON AGAIN 120

HIND SWARAJ 127

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The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

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Introduction

I CANNOT trace the origin of this book because it has written itself and it reflects the times in which I and my generation have grown. It is a dream-world from which I have not emerged. Gandhiji and his story are present all the time before my mind's eye. He is moving among us and talking to us, as he did only a few years ago. His death is but a small incident; he courted it and defied it many a time. It is only the finale to a majestic symphony.

When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

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humanitarian work of a permanent nature and so he daily worked a few hours in a small hospital in ascertaining the patients' complaints, laying the facts before the doctor and dispensing the prescriptions. It brought him in closer touch with suffering Indians, most of them, indentured labourers.

Gandhi had two sons born in South Africa, and his experience in the hospital was useful in rearing them up. He studied a book, *Advice to a Mother*, nursed his babies and served as a midwife at the birth of his last son. He did not desire any more children and began to strive after self-control.

Gandhi studied the happenings in India and educated his compatriots to take interest in them. They sent handsome contribution for famine relief in India during 1897–9.

Gandhi's recent mission to India bore fruit. The Calcutta Congress of 1896 passed a strong resolution protesting against the disabilities inflicted on Indians in South Africa. In 1897, the previous year's resolution on South Africa was repeated by the Congress.

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920 344

Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, "The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 368

The article concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on "The music of the spinning wheel" dated July 21, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's article, "The First of August," in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 368

"The First of August" concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920 368

"Lokamanya" concluded 368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

A postcard written to Manilal, his son, during the voyage, October 14, 1906 104
Gandhi's letters to Dadabhai Naoroji, 1906-1907 104
Gandhi's letter to Gokhale, dated December 3, 1906 104
Pages from the manuscript of *Hind Swaraj* ; lower half of the second page written with left hand 104
Gandhi at Phoenix Settlement with his colleagues 104
Gandhi in London, 1909 144
His letters to Narandas Gandhi from London, 1909 144
Letter to Maganlal Gandhi from Tolstoy Farm
Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy, dated London, November 10, 1909 144
Another letter by Gandhi to Tolstoy, dated Johannesburg, 1910 144
A draft letter to Gandhi written by Tolstoy on May 8, 1910 144
Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy from Johannesburg, August 15, 1910 144
Tolstoy Farm, 1910 144
Gandhi and Kallenbach with the pioneer settlers at Tolstoy Farm
A leaf from Gandhi's diary, 1910 144
Gandhi's activities as caricatured in South African journals 160
Gandhi's letter to G. A. Natesan, dated Tolstoy Farm, December 9, 1910 160
Letter continued 160
Letter continued 160
Letter concluded 160
Letter to G. A. Natesan, dated May 31, 1911 160
Letter concluded 160
Gandhi receives Gokhale at Capetown, October 22, 1912 160
Gokhale and Gandhi on the way to a public reception
Gokhale's reception at Lord's Ground, Durban 160
Gokhale with Gandhi, Kallenbach and members of the Reception Committee, Durban
Gokhale and Gandhi in cartoons 160
Pages from Kallenbach's diary, Tolstoy Farm, 1912 160
Maulana Azad's *Al-Hilal*, dated Calcutta, December 3, 1913, backs Gandhi's struggle in South Africa 160
At Verulum with Mrs. Gandhi, August 1913 176
Gandhi with Kallenbach and Miss Schlesin, before the historic march of 1913 176
On march through Volksrust crossing into the Transvaal 176
Gandhi after his arrest, 1913 176
Gandhi's prison ticket, Bloemfontein, 1913-14 176
Epic March : Oct.-Nov. 1913 with 2,037 men, 127 women, 75 children, Newcastle to Volksrust 176

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with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

[illegible] 9.8.94

C/o Messrs Dada Abdulla & Co
Durban
14-7-94

To
The Hon Mr Dadabhai Naoroji
M P

Sir,

In continuation of my letter dated the 9th instant, I have to inform you of the progress of the movement against the Franchise Law Amendment Bill as follows:-

The Bill passed the 3rd reading in the Legislative Council on the 9th instant. The other petition to the Council was accepted. One Hon. member moved the postponement of the 3rd reading till the petition was considered by the House. The motion was rejected.

The Governor has given his assent to the Bill subject to its being disallowed by Her Majesty. The Bill has a provision in it that it shall not become law until by a proclamation or otherwise the Governor signifies that it is not Her Majesty's pleasure to disallow the Bill.

I send you herewith a copy of the petition to the Home Government that will be sent to the Governor probably on the 17th instant. It will be signed by nearly 10000 Indians. Nearly 5000 signatures have already been received.

I regret to say that I am unable to send you a copy of the petition to the Council. I however beg to send a newspaper cutting which gives a fairly good report.

I do not think there remains anything more to be added. The situation is so critical that if the Franchise Bill becomes law, the position of the Indian 10 years hence will be simply intolerable in the Colony.

I remain Sir
Your obedient servant
M K Gandhi

Courtesy: R. P

A weekly letter to Dadabhai Naoroji, dated Durban, July 14, 1894

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Introduction

I CANNOT trace the origin of this book because it has written itself and it reflects the times in which I and my generation have grown. It is a dream-world from which I have not emerged. Gandhiji and his story are present all the time before my mind's eye. He is moving among us and talking to us, as he did only a few years ago. His death is but a small incident; he courted it and defied it many a time. It is only the finale to a majestic symphony.

When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

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Courtesy : Navajivan Trust, Ahmea

Report in Gujarati of the first Natal Indian Congress, 1895

assemblage exhorted the audience to unite and organize themselves for the country's cause. Calcutta's lead was followed by Madras, Bombay and Poona. In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India during the next Christmas. This can be said to be the origin of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of which marks the most important event in the political history of India. Poona was considered the most central and, therefore, suitable place. The following circular was issued:

"A conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The conference will be composed of delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the conference will be: (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a native parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres."

The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred and the conference, now called the Congress, was moved to Bombay. The historic session of the first Congress began on December 28, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. There seventy-two representatives who elected themselves as delegates met and discussed the programme, while another thirty or so attended as friends, being as Government servants precluded from acting as representatives in a political gathering, among whom the most noteworthy were Justice Ranade and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar. Among those who participated were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Narendranath Sen. The first voices heard were those of Allan Octavian Hume, S. Subramania Iyer and Telang

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Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248

Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248

Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248

Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248

Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248

Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280

Rare pictures of Gandhi 280

Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280

Lal, Bal, Pal 280

Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918

Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280

Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi, dated August 19, 1918 280

Gandhi's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj, dated Sabarmati, 1918, with a request for funds for ashram activities 280

Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918

Letter to Mahadev Desai, dated December 1919

A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280

Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312

Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312

Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312

Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312

Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312

Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312

Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312

First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312

Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312

First issue of *Young India*, dated Ahmedabad, October 8, 1919 312

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312

Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312

Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344

Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344

Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

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He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

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Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League	344
Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920	344
Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference	344
Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press	344
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920	344
A caricature of Gandhi, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, " The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920	368
The article concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on " The music of the spinning wheel " dated July 21, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's article, " The First of August, " in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920	368
" The First of August " concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920	368
" Lokamanya " concluded	368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

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self-sacrifice. Moreover, that spirit was displayed not by men only but by women and children. The brave Boer women took part even in fighting, and when they could not do that they encouraged their husbands and sons to fight and die for their country and their independence. Women and children suffered hardships, but would not ask their men to stop the struggle. The Boer War was to Gandhi a great experience which left its marks upon him and something to mould his character.

In India the Boer War made little impression on the nationalist opinion. The people were going through famines and were in a state of despair. The fifteenth Congress was held at Lucknow in December 1899. It was presided over by Romesh Chunder Dutt who treated at length the famine and the hardships of the poorer classes in India. The Congress referred to the plight of the Indians in South Africa.

The Congress held at Lahore in 1900 passed a new resolution on the South African question. It took into consideration the fact that the British had annexed the Transvaal in September 1900. The Congress pointed out that now the British were in a position to redress the disabilities of the Indians as the Transvaal was no more a Boer colony. The Boers had not taken kindly to the Indian settlers. Lord Landsdowne, Secretary of State for War and ex-Viceroy of India, had after the Boer War, assured a Sheffield audience that of all the misdeeds of the Boers, none filled him with so much anger as their treatment of the British Indians in the Transvaal.

Gandhi had stayed in South Africa six years instead of one month as originally intended and he now requested his co-workers to relieve him. He was afraid that his main job in South Africa now might become money-making. Friends in India were pressing Gandhi to return and he felt that he should be of more service in India. With great reluctance his request was accepted on condition that Gandhi should return if, within a year, the community should need him.

There were farewell meetings in several places in Natal and everywhere costly gifts were presented to Gandhi in silver, gold and diamonds. One of the gifts was a gold necklace worth fifty guineas, meant for Kasturbai. Gandhi decided not to keep these gifts. But the decision was not so easy:

"The evening I was presented with the bulk of these things I had a sleepless night. I walked up and down my room deeply agitated, but

We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him so intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the India of his day, and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

growing and spreading over India—'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them. Be sure that before long the Muslims will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you,' and so forth." The Moderates pinned their hopes on Lord Morley, the author of *Compromise*. Whilst the Government of India were following a policy of ruthless repression against the Extremists, they were evolving a strategy to rally the Moderates, the Muslims, the landlords and the princes to their side. On November 2, 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's Proclamation, King Edward VII sent a message to the princes and people of India foreshadowing political reforms. On December 17 Lord Morley placed reforms proposals before Parliament. The Indian National Congress which met at Madras, shorn of its left wing, gave a hearty welcome to the Morley-Minto scheme. It became the Indian Councils Act, 1909, on May 15, and was put into force on November 15. Much water flowed down the bridges during 1908–9. The reforms were severely criticized even by the Moderates. This Pandora's box had a history behind it.

A Muslim deputation headed by the Aga Khan presented to Lord Minto an address on October 1, 1906. It was a long document, and it made two important demands on behalf of the Muslim community. First, that "the position accorded to the Muslim community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength, but also with the practical importance and the value of the contributions which they make to the defence of the empire" and with due regard to "the position they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago". Secondly, in the proposed reforms they should be given the right of sending their own representatives themselves through separate communal electorates. It was an open secret that the deputation was a "command performance", as Maulana Mahomed Ali later called it. Lord Minto in his reply accepted the position taken up by the deputation. He said, "I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent."

who not only took the leading part in the movement but wrote the best commentary on it.

I never knew that I would undertake this work, although I was eager for many years to examine what Gandhiji did to mould the new thought. In the beginning I was a devotee, then a critic, and am now an impartial admirer. I belong to no particular school of thought, and have had no time, so far, to give my undivided attention to his philosophy as such. I did not always agree with him, but with his all-embracing life and his courage of conviction he has attracted me much more than any other historical figure.

I remember those early years when I read *Young India* with avidity and looked forward to the next issue. For thirty years, Gandhiji fed the minds of thousands and moulded the people's character imperceptibly. With perfect co-ordination between his activities and his writings and speeches, he set a supreme example for the people to follow, though they did not always do so intelligently. Today, it may seem that his influence has vanished and that he alone was his follower. But how can the seeds of great thoughts prove so barren?

Fortunately for India, Gandhiji lived long and led an intensely active life. It touched almost every phase of the nation's activity. His contacts were varied and his experiences unique. He made a gift of his wisdom to the world through his writings and speeches, illustrated by his actions. Einstein wrote: "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

I had the good fortune of receiving Gandhiji's co-operation in completing this work, which involved many years of research and took six years to write. Some of the important speeches and writings were revised by Gandhiji himself for this book. Historical facts have been checked from the original sources as well as from some of Gandhiji's colleagues. *Indian Opinion, Young India* and *Harijan* have been an important source of material, and I am greatly indebted to Mahadev Desai and to some extent to Pyarelal.

To make the work authentic and detailed, I have consulted daily newspapers of the last fifty years. All available literature, in several Indian and foreign languages, has been made use of and the chaff sifted from the grain. In doubtful cases my final authority was Gandhiji himself. When I met him last on January 22, 1948, we

Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248
Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248
Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248
Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248
Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248
Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280
Rare pictures of Gandhi 280
Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280
Lal, Bal, Pal 280
Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918
Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280
Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi, dated August 19, 1918 280
Gandhi's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj, dated Sabarmati, 1918, with a request for funds for ashram activities 280
Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918
Letter to Mahadev Desai, dated December 1919
A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280
Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312
Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312
Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312
Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312
Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312
Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312
Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312
First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312
Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312
First issue of *Young India*, dated Ahmedabad, October 8, 1919 312
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312
Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312
Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344
Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344
Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

Introduction

I CANNOT trace the origin of this book because it has written itself and it reflects the times in which I and my generation have grown. It is a dream-world from which I have not emerged. Gandhiji and his story are present all the time before my mind's eye. He is moving among us and talking to us, as he did only a few years ago. His death is but a small incident; he courted it and defied it many a time. It is only the finale to a majestic symphony.

When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him so intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the India of his day, and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

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were often full of laughter and yet were pools of infinite sadness. But the picture that is dominant and most significant is as I saw him marching, staff in hand, to Dandi on the Salt March in 1930. Here was the pilgrim on his quest of Truth, quiet, peaceful, determined and fearless, who would continue that quest and pilgrimage, regardless of consequences.

Jawaharlal Nehru

Pahalgam, Kashmir
June 30, 1951

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League	344
Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920	344
Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference	344
Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press	344
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920	344
A caricature of Gandhi, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, " The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920	368
The article concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on " The music of the spinning wheel " dated July 21, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's article, " The First of August, " in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920	368
" The First of August " concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920	368
" Lokamanya " concluded	368

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League	344
Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920	344
Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference	344
Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press	344
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920	344
A caricature of Gandhi, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, " The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920	368
The article concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on " The music of the spinning wheel " dated July 21, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's article, " The First of August, " in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920	368
" The First of August " concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920	368
" Lokamanya " concluded	368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

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bungalow, which was flat, a simple kind of adjustable windscreen was fixed up, and this served to shield the roof-sleepers from the wind. The roof was always used by Gandhi during the dry season as a sleeping-place.

Sanitary arrangements on the estate were primitive, each bungalow having its own little shelter, where a bucket system was installed, and each householder was responsible personally for the emptying of the bucket at a particular place set aside for the purpose.

Indian Opinion was published weekly. Its editor was still Nazar who worked for the paper from Durban, because he did not wish to shift to Phoenix. To reduce the expense and facilitate press-work, the paper was printed only in English and Gujarati, and the Hindi and Tamil sections were dropped. The object of the paper was "to bring the European and Indian subjects of King Edward closer together; to educate the public opinion; to remove causes for misunderstanding; to put before the Indians their own blemishes; and to show them the path of duty while they insisted on securing their right."

Gandhi had hardly settled down when he had to leave the newly constructed nest and go to Johannesburg. He could not afford to leave the work there unattended for any length of time.

In December 1904 the Indian Congress met in Bombay. Sir Henry Cotton, the president, suggested that a deputation should be sent from India to bring the Indians' grievances before the British electors and candidates as the general election was approaching in England. Tilak supporting the idea urged that there should be a permanent political mission in England. This Congress recorded its emphatic protest against the threatened enforcement, in an aggressive form, of the anti-Indian legislation of the late Boer Government of the Transvaal by the British Government. Sir Henry Cotton observed: "The British rulers of the Transvaal have applied themselves with British vigour and precision to the task of enforcing Boer law. In dealing with Indian colonists, their little finger has been thicker than Mr. Kruger's loins, and where he had whips, they have chastised with scorpions."

assemblage exhorted the audience to unite and organize themselves for the country's cause. Calcutta's lead was followed by Madras, Bombay and Poona. In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India during the next Christmas. This can be said to be the origin of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of which marks the most important event in the political history of India. Poona was considered the most central and, therefore, suitable place. The following circular was issued:

"A conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The conference will be composed of delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the conference will be: (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a native parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres."

The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred and the conference, now called the Congress, was moved to Bombay. The historic session of the first Congress began on December 28, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. There seventy-two representatives who elected themselves as delegates met and discussed the programme, while another thirty or so attended as friends, being as Government servants precluded from acting as representatives in a political gathering, among whom the most noteworthy were Justice Ranade and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar. Among those who participated were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Narendranath Sen. The first voices heard were those of Allan Octavian Hume, S. Subramania Iyer and Telang

Introduction

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

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Agarkar and Tilak started the New English School, the English weekly *Mahratta*, and the Marathi weekly *Kesari* to propagate and prepare the people for national service. The triumvirate rose rapidly to prominence. In 1896 as a result of the unbridgeable gulf between Tilak's extremist school and Ranade's moderate school of thought, the Deccan Association was inaugurated by Ranade and his pupil Gokhale.

After Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Dadabhai Naoroji, who was born in Bombay in 1825, occupied the most significant position. He was the founder in India and in England of more than thirty institutions. In the teeth of opposition Dadabhai laid the foundation of women's education in Bombay in 1849. In 1851 he started a Gujarati journal, *Rast Goftar*, as the organ of progressive views on social, religious and educational reforms. The first Indian to be a professor, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Physics at the Elphinstone College in 1854. Next year he accepted the offer to join the commercial firm of the Camas in London as he was "desirous of seeing an intimate connection established between England and India", and "particularly to provide home for young Indians so that they might freely go to England and compete for the Indian Civil Service and other services." Dadabhai, however, resigned his partnership in 1858 because he could not persuade himself to pocket earnings derived from dealings in opium, wine and spirits which led to the ruin of thousands. Dadabhai worked as Professor of Gujarati in University College, London, and actively participated in several institutions. Dadabhai founded in 1866 what is now known as the East India Association. He became an unofficial ambassador for India and worked for her in every field. In 1874 he was appointed a minister in the Baroda state and in 1885 he was nominated an additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He was elected a Member of Parliament in 1892, the first Indian so elected. His greatest gift to posterity was *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, published in 1901. He presided thrice over the Indian National Congress. In 1904 he attended the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam representing the people of India. The delegates leapt to their feet and stood uncovered before him in solemn silence to mark their respect for India's representative. On hearing Dadabhai, the Amsterdam Congress passed a resolution that it "brands Great Britain with the mark of shame for its treatment of India". The Grand Old Man of India died in 1917 at the age of ninety-two.

craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him so intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the India of his day, and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

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facts and figures. Dadabhai had laid a special stress on Hindu-Muslim unity, which he pointed out was essential for India's progress.

Besides swaraj, this Congress popularized "Bande Mataram". It was sung for the first time in a Congress session, by the girls' choir, the audience standing.

The third day began with national songs. Nawabzada Atikulla Khan moved a resolution against the partition of Bengal, and declared that Hindus and Muslims should unitedly protest against it.

On the resolution of the boycott of British goods, Messrs. Ambika Charan Mazumdar, Bepin Chandra Pal and Pandit Malaviya spoke movingly. Gokhale declared that the boycott movement marking the resentment of the people against the partition of Bengal "was and is legitimate". Another resolution declared that the time had come to organize national education on national lines and under national control. On the swadeshi resolution, Tilak and Lajpat Rai spoke forcefully. They said that self-help, determination and self-sacrifice was the crying need of the time.

The Calcutta Congress registered a strong protest against the treatment of the Indians in South Africa.

who not only took the leading part in the movement but wrote the best commentary on it.

I never knew that I would undertake this work, although I was eager for many years to examine what Gandhiji did to mould the new thought. In the beginning I was a devotee, then a critic, and am now an impartial admirer. I belong to no particular school of thought, and have had no time, so far, to give my undivided attention to his philosophy as such. I did not always agree with him, but with his all-embracing life and his courage of conviction he has attracted me much more than any other historical figure.

I remember those early years when I read *Young India* with avidity and looked forward to the next issue. For thirty years, Gandhiji fed the minds of thousands and moulded the people's character imperceptibly. With perfect co-ordination between his activities and his writings and speeches, he set a supreme example for the people to follow, though they did not always do so intelligently. Today, it may seem that his influence has vanished and that he alone was his follower. But how can the seeds of great thoughts prove so barren ?

Fortunately for India, Gandhiji lived long and led an intensely active life. It touched almost every phase of the nation's activity. His contacts were varied and his experiences unique. He made a gift of his wisdom to the world through his writings and speeches, illustrated by his actions. Einstein wrote : "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

I had the good fortune of receiving Gandhiji's co-operation in completing this work, which involved many years of research and took six years to write. Some of the important speeches and writings were revised by Gandhiji himself for this book. Historical facts have been checked from the original sources as well as from some of Gandhiji's colleagues. *Indian Opinion, Young India* and *Harijan* have been an important source of material, and I am greatly indebted to Mahadev Desai and to some extent to Pyarelal.

To make the work authentic and detailed, I have consulted daily newspapers of the last fifty years. All available literature, in several Indian and foreign languages, has been made use of and the chaff sifted from the grain. In doubtful cases my final authority was Gandhiji himself. When I met him last on January 22, 1948, we

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League	344
Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920	344
Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference	344
Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press	344
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920	344
A caricature of Gandhi, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, " The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920	368
The article concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on " The music of the spinning wheel " dated July 21, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's article, " The First of August, " in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920	368
" The First of August " concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920	368
" Lokamanya " concluded	368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

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Courtesy : Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad

Report in Gujarati of the first Natal Indian Congress, 1895

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Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League	344
Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920	344
Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference	344
Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press	344
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920	344
A caricature of Gandhi, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, "The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920	368
The article concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on "The music of the spinning wheel" dated July 21, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's article, "The First of August," in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920	368
"The First of August" concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920	368
"Lokamanya" concluded	368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

Introduction

I CANNOT trace the origin of this book because it has written itself and it reflects the times in which I and my generation have grown. It is a dream-world from which I have not emerged. Gandhiji and his story are present all the time before my mind's eye. He is moving among us and talking to us, as he did only a few years ago. His death is but a small incident; he courted it and defied it many a time. It is only the finale to a majestic symphony.

When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

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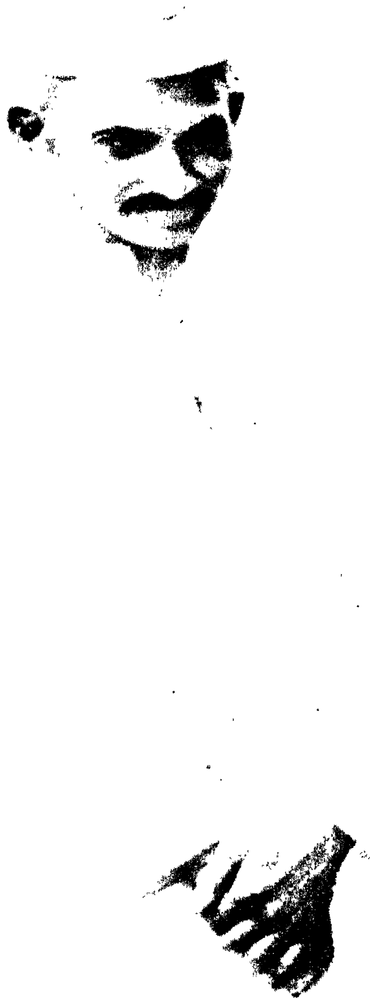
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From Sumati Morarjee Collection

Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920

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uncivilized government. If those powers were so used and if all of them were deported or imprisoned, that were an honour for them rather than they should foresake their solemn obligations and bid good-bye to their manhood and self-respect only because they were earning a few miserable pence or pounds. He would never be sorry for the advice he had given them, and he also said, with reference to their fifteen months' fight, that it was well done. This was a legislation which no self-respecting man could accept.

It seemed to him that they had come to the parting of the ways. The Imperial Government must hesitate if they meant to retain their hold on the people of India through their affections and not at the point of the bayonet. England might have to choose between India and the colonies. It might not be today or tomorrow, but he felt the seeds had been sown by Lord Elgin's action. It had not been possible for him to choose soft words when he found the Asiatic Act with the Immigration Registration Act superadded.

On December 28 Gandhi and his colleagues attended the court. They were asked whether they held duly issued registration certificates and upon receiving replies in the negative, they were all promptly arrested and charged in that they were in the Transvaal without a registration certificate issued under the act.

M. K. Gandhi, Attorney, Barrister-at-law of the Inner Temple, Hon. Secretary of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal, was the first of the accused to be dealt with.

Superintendent Vernon said that the accused was an Asiatic over sixteen years of age, resident in the Transvaal. That morning he called on Gandhi to produce his registration certificate, but the latter failed to do so and said he had not got one.

Gandhi asked no questions but went into the witness-box prepared to make a statement. He wished to say why he had not submitted to the Registration Act.

Mr. Jordan (magistrate): I don't think that has anything to do with it. The law is there, and you have disobeyed it. I don't want any political speeches made.

Gandhi: I don't want to make any political speeches.

Jordan: The question is, have you registered or not? If you have not registered, there is an end of the case. If you have any explanation to offer as regards the order I am going to make, that is another story. There is the law, which has been passed by the Transvaal

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

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Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

growing and spreading over India—'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them. Be sure that before long the Muslims will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you,' and so forth." The Moderates pinned their hopes on Lord Morley, the author of *Compromise*. Whilst the Government of India were following a policy of ruthless repression against the Extremists, they were evolving a strategy to rally the Moderates, the Muslims, the landlords and the princes to their side. On November 2, 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's Proclamation, King Edward VII sent a message to the princes and people of India foreshadowing political reforms. On December 17 Lord Morley placed reforms proposals before Parliament. The Indian National Congress which met at Madras, shorn of its left wing, gave a hearty welcome to the Morley-Minto scheme. It became the Indian Councils Act, 1909, on May 15, and was put into force on November 15. Much water flowed down the bridges during 1908–9. The reforms were severely criticized even by the Moderates. This Pandora's box had a history behind it.

A Muslim deputation headed by the Aga Khan presented to Lord Minto an address on October 1, 1906. It was a long document, and it made two important demands on behalf of the Muslim community. First, that "the position accorded to the Muslim community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength, but also with the practical importance and the value of the contributions which they make to the defence of the empire" and with due regard to "the position they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago". Secondly, in the proposed reforms they should be given the right of sending their own representatives themselves through separate communal electorates. It was an open secret that the deputation was a "command performance", as Maulana Mahomed Ali later called it. Lord Minto in his reply accepted the position taken up by the deputation. He said, "I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent."

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Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 344

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

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Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League	344
Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920	344
Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference	344
Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press	344
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920	344
A caricature of Gandhi, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, " The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920	368
The article concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on " The music of the spinning wheel " dated July 21, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's article, " The First of August, " in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920	368
" The First of August " concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920	368
" Lokamanya " concluded	368

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were often full of laughter and yet were pools of infinite sadness. But the picture that is dominant and most significant is as I saw him marching, staff in hand, to Dandi on the Salt March in 1930. Here was the pilgrim on his quest of Truth, quiet, peaceful, determined and fearless, who would continue that quest and pilgrimage, regardless of consequences.

Jawaharlal Nehru

Pahalgam, Kashmir
June 30, 1951

Agarkar and Tilak started the New English School, the English weekly *Mahratta*, and the Marathi weekly *Kesari* to propagate and prepare the people for national service. The triumvirate rose rapidly to prominence. In 1896 as a result of the unbridgeable gulf between Tilak's extremist school and Ranade's moderate school of thought, the Deccan Association was inaugurated by Ranade and his pupil Gokhale.

After Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Dadabhai Naoroji, who was born in Bombay in 1825, occupied the most significant position. He was the founder in India and in England of more than thirty institutions. In the teeth of opposition Dadabhai laid the foundation of women's education in Bombay in 1849. In 1851 he started a Gujarati journal, *Rast Goftar*, as the organ of progressive views on social, religious and educational reforms. The first Indian to be a professor, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Physics at the Elphinstone College in 1854. Next year he accepted the offer to join the commercial firm of the Camas in London as he was "desirous of seeing an intimate connection established between England and India", and "particularly to provide home for young Indians so that they might freely go to England and compete for the Indian Civil Service and other services." Dadabhai, however, resigned his partnership in 1858 because he could not persuade himself to pocket earnings derived from dealings in opium, wine and spirits which led to the ruin of thousands. Dadabhai worked as Professor of Gujarati in University College, London, and actively participated in several institutions. Dadabhai founded in 1866 what is now known as the East India Association. He became an unofficial ambassador for India and worked for her in every field. In 1874 he was appointed a minister in the Baroda state and in 1885 he was nominated an additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He was elected a Member of Parliament in 1892, the first Indian so elected. His greatest gift to posterity was *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, published in 1901. He presided thrice over the Indian National Congress. In 1904 he attended the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam representing the people of India. The delegates leapt to their feet and stood uncovered before him in solemn silence to mark their respect for India's representative. On hearing Dadabhai, the Amsterdam Congress passed a resolution that it "brands Great Britain with the mark of shame for its treatment of India". The Grand Old Man of India died in 1917 at the age of ninety-two.

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"A conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The conference will be composed of delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the conference will be: (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a native parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres."

The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred and the conference, now called the Congress, was moved to Bombay. The historic session of the first Congress began on December 28, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. There seventy-two representatives who elected themselves as delegates met and discussed the programme, while another thirty or so attended as friends, being as Government servants precluded from acting as representatives in a political gathering, among whom the most noteworthy were Justice Ranade and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar. Among those who participated were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Narendranath Sen. The first voices heard were those of Allan Octavian Hume, S. Subramania Iyer and Telang

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growing and spreading over India—'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them. Be sure that before long the Muslims will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you,' and so forth." The Moderates pinned their hopes on Lord Morley, the author of *Compromise*. Whilst the Government of India were following a policy of ruthless repression against the Extremists, they were evolving a strategy to rally the Moderates, the Muslims, the landlords and the princes to their side. On November 2, 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's Proclamation, King Edward VII sent a message to the princes and people of India foreshadowing political reforms. On December 17 Lord Morley placed reforms proposals before Parliament. The Indian National Congress which met at Madras, shorn of its left wing, gave a hearty welcome to the Morley-Minto scheme. It became the Indian Councils Act, 1909, on May 15, and was put into force on November 15. Much water flowed down the bridges during 1908–9. The reforms were severely criticized even by the Moderates. This Pandora's box had a history behind it.

A Muslim deputation headed by the Aga Khan presented to Lord Minto an address on October 1, 1906. It was a long document, and it made two important demands on behalf of the Muslim community. First, that "the position accorded to the Muslim community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength, but also with the practical importance and the value of the contributions which they make to the defence of the empire" and with due regard to "the position they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago". Secondly, in the proposed reforms they should be given the right of sending their own representatives themselves through separate communal electorates. It was an open secret that the deputation was a "command performance", as Maulana Mahomed Ali later called it. Lord Minto in his reply accepted the position taken up by the deputation. He said, "I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent."

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii

FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi

INTRODUCTION xvii

PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1

BIRTH OF GANDHI 27

EARLY YEARS 29

STUDENT IN LONDON 34

BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40

UNWELCOME VISITOR 43

DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49

INDIAN INTERLUDE 55

THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58

ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63

VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68

BACK TO AFRICA 73

INDIAN OPINION 78

PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81

BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84

ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91

MISSION TO LONDON 97

BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100

PRISON EXPERIENCE 108

BREACH OF FAITH 114

TO LONDON AGAIN 120

HIND SWARAJ 127

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii

FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi

INTRODUCTION xvii

PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1

BIRTH OF GANDHI 27

EARLY YEARS 29

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VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68

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Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248

Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248

Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248

Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248

Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248

Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280

Rare pictures of Gandhi 280

Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280

Lal, Bal, Pal 280

Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918

Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280

Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi, dated August 19, 1918 280

Gandhi's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj, dated Sabarmati, 1918, with a request for funds for ashram activities 280

Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918

Letter to Mahadev Desai, dated December 1919

A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280

Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312

Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312

Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312

Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312

Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312

Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312

Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312

First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312

Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312

First issue of *Young India*, dated Ahmedabad, October 8, 1919 312

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312

Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312

Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344

Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344

Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

India Backs Gandhi

1909

GANDHI's mission to London bore no fruit. Replying to a question in the House of Lords, Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, on November 17, 1909, remarked: "The spokesmen for the Indians have put their case with skill and fairness. The Transvaal ministers were willing to meet the majority of difficulties. There remains, however, the theoretical grievance that the Transvaal was shutting out the Asiatics. We cannot thwart the policy of self-governing colonies of South Africa."

In India, the people heard of the homes broken and the families ruined in the struggle. Fathers and sons sometimes had gone to jail simultaneously, leaving poor mothers and wives to maintain themselves by hawking fruit and vegetables. Merchants, who had never undergone physical exertion, had been breaking stones or doing scavengers' work in the Transvaal jails, wretchedly fed and scantily dressed in the chill winter.

Gokhale, addressing a meeting in Bombay, gave the following graphic description: "You will see that the first part of this resolution is practically identical with a resolution which was adopted in this very hall at the beginning of last year by a public meeting presided over by the Aga Khan. The position today is far worse than it was when the last meeting was held. Again out of about 8,000 men in the Transvaal 7,500 were engaged in the struggle. Today the total Indian population in that colony has dropped to less than 6,000; and though most of these are in deep sympathy with the struggle and are helping it financially and in other ways, the brunt of the prosecution is being borne by a brave band of about 500 Indians, led by the indomitable Gandhi, a man of tremendous spiritual power, one who is made of the stuff of which great heroes and martyrs are made. Those who will speak to the second resolution will tell you what dreadful hardships and sufferings have been endured by the passive

self-sacrifice. Moreover, that spirit was displayed not by men only but by women and children. The brave Boer women took part even in fighting, and when they could not do that they encouraged their husbands and sons to fight and die for their country and their independence. Women and children suffered hardships, but would not ask their men to stop the struggle. The Boer War was to Gandhi a great experience which left its marks upon him and something to mould his character.

In India the Boer War made little impression on the nationalist opinion. The people were going through famines and were in a state of despair. The fifteenth Congress was held at Lucknow in December 1899. It was presided over by Romesh Chunder Dutt who treated at length the famine and the hardships of the poorer classes in India. The Congress referred to the plight of the Indians in South Africa.

The Congress held at Lahore in 1900 passed a new resolution on the South African question. It took into consideration the fact that the British had annexed the Transvaal in September 1900. The Congress pointed out that now the British were in a position to redress the disabilities of the Indians as the Transvaal was no more a Boer colony. The Boers had not taken kindly to the Indian settlers. Lord Landsdowne, Secretary of State for War and ex-Viceroy of India, had after the Boer War, assured a Sheffield audience that of all the misdeeds of the Boers, none filled him with so much anger as their treatment of the British Indians in the Transvaal.

Gandhi had stayed in South Africa six years instead of one month as originally intended and he now requested his co-workers to relieve him. He was afraid that his main job in South Africa now might become money-making. Friends in India were pressing Gandhi to return and he felt that he should be of more service in India. With great reluctance his request was accepted on condition that Gandhi should return if, within a year, the community should need him.

There were farewell meetings in several places in Natal and everywhere costly gifts were presented to Gandhi in silver, gold and diamonds. One of the gifts was a gold necklace worth fifty guineas, meant for Kasturbai. Gandhi decided not to keep these gifts. But the decision was not so easy:

"The evening I was presented with the bulk of these things I had a sleepless night. I walked up and down my room deeply agitated, but

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who not only took the leading part in the movement but wrote the best commentary on it.

I never knew that I would undertake this work, although I was eager for many years to examine what Gandhiji did to mould the new thought. In the beginning I was a devotee, then a critic, and am now an impartial admirer. I belong to no particular school of thought, and have had no time, so far, to give my undivided attention to his philosophy as such. I did not always agree with him, but with his all-embracing life and his courage of conviction he has attracted me much more than any other historical figure.

I remember those early years when I read *Young India* with avidity and looked forward to the next issue. For thirty years, Gandhiji fed the minds of thousands and moulded the people's character imperceptibly. With perfect co-ordination between his activities and his writings and speeches, he set a supreme example for the people to follow, though they did not always do so intelligently. Today, it may seem that his influence has vanished and that he alone was his follower. But how can the seeds of great thoughts prove so barren ?

Fortunately for India, Gandhiji lived long and led an intensely active life. It touched almost every phase of the nation's activity. His contacts were varied and his experiences unique. He made a gift of his wisdom to the world through his writings and speeches, illustrated by his actions. Einstein wrote: "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

I had the good fortune of receiving Gandhiji's co-operation in completing this work, which involved many years of research and took six years to write. Some of the important speeches and writings were revised by Gandhiji himself for this book. Historical facts have been checked from the original sources as well as from some of Gandhiji's colleagues. *Indian Opinion, Young India* and *Harijan* have been an important source of material, and I am greatly indebted to Mahadev Desai and to some extent to Pyarelal.

To make the work authentic and detailed, I have consulted daily newspapers of the last fifty years. All available literature, in several Indian and foreign languages, has been made use of and the chaff sifted from the grain. In doubtful cases my final authority was Gandhiji himself. When I met him last on January 22, 1948, we

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

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facts and figures. Dadabhai had laid a special stress on Hindu-Muslim unity, which he pointed out was essential for India's progress.

Besides swaraj, this Congress popularized "Bande Mataram". It was sung for the first time in a Congress session, by the girls' choir, the audience standing.

The third day began with national songs. Nawabzada Atikulla Khan moved a resolution against the partition of Bengal, and declared that Hindus and Muslims should unitedly protest against it.

On the resolution of the boycott of British goods, Messrs. Ambika Charan Mazumdar, Bepin Chandra Pal and Pandit Malaviya spoke movingly. Gokhale declared that the boycott movement marking the resentment of the people against the partition of Bengal "was and is legitimate". Another resolution declared that the time had come to organize national education on national lines and under national control. On the swadeshi resolution, Tilak and Lajpat Rai spoke forcefully. They said that self-help, determination and self-sacrifice was the crying need of the time.

The Calcutta Congress registered a strong protest against the treatment of the Indians in South Africa.

assemblage exhorted the audience to unite and organize themselves for the country's cause. Calcutta's lead was followed by Madras, Bombay and Poona. In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India during the next Christmas. This can be said to be the origin of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of which marks the most important event in the political history of India. Poona was considered the most central and, therefore, suitable place. The following circular was issued:

"A conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The conference will be composed of delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the conference will be: (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a native parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres."

The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred and the conference, now called the Congress, was moved to Bombay. The historic session of the first Congress began on December 28, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. There seventy-two representatives who elected themselves as delegates met and discussed the programme, while another thirty or so attended as friends, being as Government servants precluded from acting as representatives in a political gathering, among whom the most noteworthy were Justice Ranade and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar. Among those who participated were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Narendranath Sen. The first voices heard were those of Allan Octavian Hume, S. Subramania Iyer and Telang

Introduction

I CANNOT trace the origin of this book because it has written itself and it reflects the times in which I and my generation have grown. It is a dream-world from which I have not emerged. Gandhiji and his story are present all the time before my mind's eye. He is moving among us and talking to us, as he did only a few years ago. His death is but a small incident; he courted it and defied it many a time. It is only the finale to a majestic symphony.

When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him so intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the India of his day, and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

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Telegrams "GANDHI." A.B.C. Code 5th Edition Used.

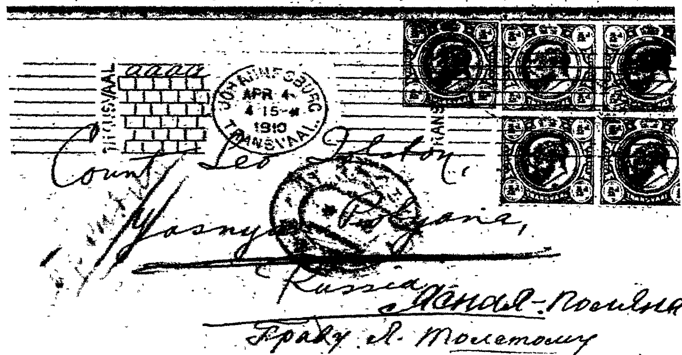
Johannesburg 4th April, 1910.
Transvaal
(S. Africa)

Count Leo Tolstoy,
Yasnya Polyana,
Russia.

Dear Sir,

You will recollect my having carried on correspondence with you whilst I was temporarily in London. As a humble follower of yours, I send you herewith a booklet which I have written. It is my own translation of a Gujarati writing. Curiously enough the original writing has been confiscated by the Government of India. I, therefore, hastened the above publication of the translation. I am most anxious not to worry you, but, if your health permits it and if you can find the time to go through the booklet, needless to say I shall value very highly your criticism of the writing. I am sending also a few copies of your letter to a Hindoo, which you authorised me to publish. It has been translated in one of the Indian languages also.

I am,
Your obedient servant,
M. K. Gandhi



Courtesy : Jawaharlal Neh

Another letter by Gandhi to Tolstoy, dated Johannesburg, 1910

(Ronir.) N102

Jasnaïa Poliana
apr 25 / may 8. 1910

Dear friend,

I just received your letter and your book: „Indian Home Rule."

I read your book with great interest because I think that the question you treat in it: the passive resistance (—) is a question of the greatest importance not only for India but for the whole humanity.

I could not find your former letters, but came across your biography by J. Doss which too interested me much and gave me the possibility to know and understand you better.

I am at present not quite well and therefore abstain from writing to you all what I have to say about your book and all your work which I appreciate very much, but I will do it as soon as I will feel better.

Your friend and brother

A draft letter to Gandhi written by Tolstoy on May 8, 1910

M. K. GANDHI,
ATTORNEY.

21-24, Court Chambers,
Corner Rissik & Anderson Streets
Telephone No 1635 P. O. Box 6522.
Telegrams: "GANDHI." A.B.C. Code 5th Edition Used

Johannesburg, 15th Aug. 1910.

Reply sent Nov. 1.10

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for your encouraging and cordial letter of the 8th May last. I very much value your general approval of my booklet "Indian Home Rule". And, if you have the time, I shall look forward to your detailed criticism of the work which you have been so good as to promise in your letter.

Mr. Kallenbach has written to you about Tolstoy Farm. Mr. Kallenbach and I have been friends for many years. I may state that he has gone through most of the experiences that you have so graphically described in your work "My Confession". No writings have so deeply touched Mr. Kallenbach as yours, and, as a spur to further effort in living up to the ideals held before the world by you, he has taken the liberty, after consultation with me, of naming his farm after you.

Of his generous action in giving the use of the farm for passive resisters, the numbers of "Indian Opinion" I am sending herewith will give you full information.

I should not have burdened you with these details but for the fact of your taking a personal interest in the passive resistance struggle that is going on in the Transvaal.

I remain,

Your faithful servant,

M K Gandhi

Count Leo Tolstoy,

Yasnaya Polyana.

Courtesy: Jawaharlal Nehru

Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy from Johannesburg, August 15, 1910

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He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League	344
Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920	344
Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference	344
Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press	344
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920	344
A caricature of Gandhi, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, "The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920	368
The article concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on "The music of the spinning wheel" dated July 21, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's article, "The First of August," in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920	368
"The First of August" concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920	368
"Lokamanya" concluded	368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

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India Backs Gandhi

1909

GANDHI's mission to London bore no fruit. Replying to a question in the House of Lords, Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, on November 17, 1909, remarked: "The spokesmen for the Indians have put their case with skill and fairness. The Transvaal ministers were willing to meet the majority of difficulties. There remains, however, the theoretical grievance that the Transvaal was shutting out the Asiatics. We cannot thwart the policy of self-governing colonies of South Africa."

In India, the people heard of the homes broken and the families ruined in the struggle. Fathers and sons sometimes had gone to jail simultaneously, leaving poor mothers and wives to maintain themselves by hawking fruit and vegetables. Merchants, who had never undergone physical exertion, had been breaking stones or doing scavengers' work in the Transvaal jails, wretchedly fed and scantily dressed in the chill winter.

Gokhale, addressing a meeting in Bombay, gave the following graphic description: "You will see that the first part of this resolution is practically identical with a resolution which was adopted in this very hall at the beginning of last year by a public meeting presided over by the Aga Khan. The position today is far worse than it was when the last meeting was held. Again out of about 8,000 men in the Transvaal 7,500 were engaged in the struggle. Today the total Indian population in that colony has dropped to less than 6,000; and though most of these are in deep sympathy with the struggle and are helping it financially and in other ways, the brunt of the prosecution is being borne by a brave band of about 500 Indians, led by the indomitable Gandhi, a man of tremendous spiritual power, one who is made of the stuff of which great heroes and martyrs are made. Those who will speak to the second resolution will tell you what dreadful hardships and sufferings have been endured by the passive

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920 344

Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, " The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 368

The article concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on " The music of the spinning wheel " dated July 21, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's article, " The First of August, " in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 368

" The First of August " concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920 368

" Lokamanya " concluded 368

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"Yes, we can talk in our newspapers of the progress of aviation, of complicated diplomatic relations, of different clubs and conventions, of unions of different kinds, of so-called productions of art, and keep silent about what that young lady said. But it cannot be passed over in silence, because it is felt, more or less dimly, but always felt, by every man in the Christian world. Socialism, communism, anarchism, Salvation Army, increasing crime, unemployment, the growing insane luxury of the rich and misery of the poor, the alarmingly increasing number of suicides—all these are the signs of that internal contradiction which must be solved and cannot remain unsolved. And they must be solved in the sense of acknowledging the law of love and denying violence.

"Therefore, your activity in the Transvaal, as it seems to us, at this end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, wherein not only the nations of the Christian, but of all the world, will unavoidably take part.

"I think that you will be pleased to know that here in Russia this activity is also fast developing in the way of refusals to serve in the army, the number of which increases from year to year. However insignificant is the number of our people who are passive resisters in Russia who refuse to serve in the army, these and the others can boldly say that God is with them. And God is much more powerful than man.

"In acknowledging Christianity even in that corrupt form in which it is professed amongst the Christian nations, and at the same time in acknowledging the necessity of armies and armament for killing on the greatest scale in wars, there is such a clear clamouring contradiction that it must sooner or later, possibly very soon, inevitably reveal itself and annihilate either the professing of the Christian religion, which is indispensable in keeping up these forces, or the existence of armies and all the violence kept up by them, which is not less necessary for power. This contradiction is felt by all governments, by your British as well as by our Russian Governments, and out of a general feeling of self-preservation the persecution by them—as seen in Russia and in the journal sent by you—against such anti-government activity, as those above-mentioned, is carried on with more energy than against any other form of opposition. The governments know where their chief danger lies, and they vigilantly guard in this question, not only their interests, but the question: 'To be or not to be?' "

When Tolstoy, "the sage of Yasnaya Polyana", died on November 20, *Indian Opinion* wrote in its editorial:

"Of the late Count Tolstoy, we can only write with reverence. He was to us more than one of the greatest men of the age. We have endeavoured, so far as possible, to follow his teaching. The end of his bodily life but put the final touch to the work of humanity that he, in his own inimitable manner, inaugurated. Tolstoy is not dead; he lives through the lives of his innumerable followers throughout the world. We firmly believe that, as time rolls on, his teaching will more and more permeate mankind. Though a devout Christian, he truly interpreted not only Christianity, but he likewise gave a realistic presentation of the substance underlying the great world religion, and he has shown, how present-day civilization based as it is on brute force, is a negative of divinity in man and how, before man can realize his manhood, he must substitute brute force by love in all his actions in the daily work of life. Perhaps his letter to Mr. Gandhi, which we reproduce on the first page, was one of the last, if not the last, writings from his pen. In it he almost foreshadowed his dissolution and it must be a matter of great encouragement and melancholy satisfaction to Indian passive resisters that the sage of Yasnaya Polyana considered the Transvaal struggle to be one of world-wide importance."

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Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248
Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248
Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248
Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248
Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248
Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280
Rare pictures of Gandhi 280
Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280
Lal, Bal, Pal 280
Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918
Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280
Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi, dated August 19, 1918 280
Gandhi's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj, dated Sabarmati, 1918, with a request for funds for ashram activities 280
Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918
Letter to Mahadev Desai, dated December 1919
A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280
Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312
Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312
Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312
Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312
Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312
Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312
Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312
First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312
Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312
First issue of *Young India*, dated Ahmedabad, October 8, 1919 312
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312
Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312
Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344
Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344
Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

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[illegible] 9.8.94

C/o Messrs Dada Abdulla & Co.
Durban
14-7-94

To
The Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji
M. P.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter dated the 7th instant, I have to inform you of the progress of the movement against the Franchise Law Amendment Bill as follows:-

The Bill passed the 3rd reading in the Legislative Council on the 7th instant. The other petition to the Council was accepted. One Hon. member moved the postponement of the 3rd reading till the petition was considered by the House. The motion was rejected.

The Governor has given his assent to the Bill subject to its being disallowed by Her Majesty. The Bill has a provision in it that it shall not become law until by a proclamation or otherwise the Governor signifies that it is not Her Majesty's pleasure to disallow the Bill.

I send you herewith a copy of the petition to the Home Government that will be sent to the Governor probably on the 17th instant. It will be signed by nearly 10000 Indians. Nearly 5000 signatures have already been received.

I regret to say that I am unable to send you a copy of the petition to the Council. I however beg to send a newspaper cutting which gives a fairly good report.

I do not think there remains anything more to be added. The situation is so critical that if the Franchise Bill becomes law, the position of the Indians 10 years hence will be simply intolerable in the Colony.

I remain
Your obedient servant
M. K. Gandhi

Courtesy: R. P

A weekly letter to Dadabhai Naoroji, dated Durban, July 14, 1894

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

Student In London

1888–1891

In company with a Junagadh lawyer, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, aged nineteen, sailed from Bombay on September 4, 1888, reaching Southampton at the end of the month. He carried with him four letters of introduction to Dr. P. J. Mehta, Mr. Dalpatram Shukla, the great cricketer Prince Ranjitsinhji, and the most precious one to Dadabhai Naoroji. Actually the Maharashtrian friend who gave the note had never known Dadabhai personally. But he thought it might induce the shy Mohandas to meet the easily accessible Dadabhai who had recently presided over the second Congress held at Calcutta in 1886.

On the steamer, young Gandhi wore a black suit. Most of the time he confined himself to his cabin and being shy he ate food there. He touched no meat or wine on the journey and his meals consisted only of sweets and fruits which he had brought with him. Mohandas even secured a certificate from a fellow passenger that he ate no meat on the steamer. He stepped ashore in white flannels, the only person wearing such clothes.

Dr. Mehta, a friend of the Gandhi family, came to see Mohandas on the day of his arrival in London at the Victoria Hotel. Gandhi was intrigued to see his silken top hat and out of curiosity passed his hand over it in the wrong way and disturbed the fur. Immediately Dr. Mehta gave him the first lesson in European etiquette: "Do not touch other people's things. Do not ask questions as we do in India at first acquaintance; do not talk loudly. Never address people as 'Sir' whilst speaking to them as we do in India, only servants and subordinates address their master that way."

Gandhi found everything around him strange; he would continually think of his home and country. On the fourth day of his arrival he shifted from the hotel, which had cost him one pound a day, to less expensive quarters in a boarding-house kept by an English

Agarkar and Tilak started the New English School, the English weekly *Mahratta*, and the Marathi weekly *Kesari* to propagate and prepare the people for national service. The triumvirate rose rapidly to prominence. In 1896 as a result of the unbridgeable gulf between Tilak's extremist school and Ranade's moderate school of thought, the Deccan Association was inaugurated by Ranade and his pupil Gokhale.

After Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Dadabhai Naoroji, who was born in Bombay in 1825, occupied the most significant position. He was the founder in India and in England of more than thirty institutions. In the teeth of opposition Dadabhai laid the foundation of women's education in Bombay in 1849. In 1851 he started a Gujarati journal, *Rast Goftar*, as the organ of progressive views on social, religious and educational reforms. The first Indian to be a professor, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Physics at the Elphinstone College in 1854. Next year he accepted the offer to join the commercial firm of the Camas in London as he was "desirous of seeing an intimate connection established between England and India", and "particularly to provide home for young Indians so that they might freely go to England and compete for the Indian Civil Service and other services." Dadabhai, however, resigned his partnership in 1858 because he could not persuade himself to pocket earnings derived from dealings in opium, wine and spirits which led to the ruin of thousands. Dadabhai worked as Professor of Gujarati in University College, London, and actively participated in several institutions. Dadabhai founded in 1866 what is now known as the East India Association. He became an unofficial ambassador for India and worked for her in every field. In 1874 he was appointed a minister in the Baroda state and in 1885 he was nominated an additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He was elected a Member of Parliament in 1892, the first Indian so elected. His greatest gift to posterity was *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, published in 1901. He presided thrice over the Indian National Congress. In 1904 he attended the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam representing the people of India. The delegates leapt to their feet and stood uncovered before him in solemn silence to mark their respect for India's representative. On hearing Dadabhai, the Amsterdam Congress passed a resolution that it "brands Great Britain with the mark of shame for its treatment of India". The Grand Old Man of India died in 1917 at the age of ninety-two.

who not only took the leading part in the movement but wrote the best commentary on it.

I never knew that I would undertake this work, although I was eager for many years to examine what Gandhiji did to mould the new thought. In the beginning I was a devotee, then a critic, and am now an impartial admirer. I belong to no particular school of thought, and have had no time, so far, to give my undivided attention to his philosophy as such. I did not always agree with him, but with his all-embracing life and his courage of conviction he has attracted me much more than any other historical figure.

I remember those early years when I read *Young India* with avidity and looked forward to the next issue. For thirty years, Gandhiji fed the minds of thousands and moulded the people's character imperceptibly. With perfect co-ordination between his activities and his writings and speeches, he set a supreme example for the people to follow, though they did not always do so intelligently. Today, it may seem that his influence has vanished and that he alone was his follower. But how can the seeds of great thoughts prove so barren ?

Fortunately for India, Gandhiji lived long and led an intensely active life. It touched almost every phase of the nation's activity. His contacts were varied and his experiences unique. He made a gift of his wisdom to the world through his writings and speeches, illustrated by his actions. Einstein wrote : "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

I had the good fortune of receiving Gandhiji's co-operation in completing this work, which involved many years of research and took six years to write. Some of the important speeches and writings were revised by Gandhiji himself for this book. Historical facts have been checked from the original sources as well as from some of Gandhiji's colleagues. *Indian Opinion, Young India* and *Harijan* have been an important source of material, and I am greatly indebted to Mahadev Desai and to some extent to Pyarelal.

To make the work authentic and detailed, I have consulted daily newspapers of the last fifty years. All available literature, in several Indian and foreign languages, has been made use of and the chaff sifted from the grain. In doubtful cases my final authority was Gandhiji himself. When I met him last on January 22, 1948, we

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He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

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Introduction

I CANNOT trace the origin of this book because it has written itself and it reflects the times in which I and my generation have grown. It is a dream-world from which I have not emerged. Gandhiji and his story are present all the time before my mind's eye. He is moving among us and talking to us, as he did only a few years ago. His death is but a small incident; he courted it and defied it many a time. It is only the finale to a majestic symphony.

When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

self-sacrifice. Moreover, that spirit was displayed not by men only but by women and children. The brave Boer women took part even in fighting, and when they could not do that they encouraged their husbands and sons to fight and die for their country and their independence. Women and children suffered hardships, but would not ask their men to stop the struggle. The Boer War was to Gandhi a great experience which left its marks upon him and something to mould his character.

In India the Boer War made little impression on the nationalist opinion. The people were going through famines and were in a state of despair. The fifteenth Congress was held at Lucknow in December 1899. It was presided over by Romesh Chunder Dutt who treated at length the famine and the hardships of the poorer classes in India. The Congress referred to the plight of the Indians in South Africa.

The Congress held at Lahore in 1900 passed a new resolution on the South African question. It took into consideration the fact that the British had annexed the Transvaal in September 1900. The Congress pointed out that now the British were in a position to redress the disabilities of the Indians as the Transvaal was no more a Boer colony. The Boers had not taken kindly to the Indian settlers. Lord Landsdowne, Secretary of State for War and ex-Viceroy of India, had after the Boer War, assured a Sheffield audience that of all the misdeeds of the Boers, none filled him with so much anger as their treatment of the British Indians in the Transvaal.

Gandhi had stayed in South Africa six years instead of one month as originally intended and he now requested his co-workers to relieve him. He was afraid that his main job in South Africa now might become money-making. Friends in India were pressing Gandhi to return and he felt that he should be of more service in India. With great reluctance his request was accepted on condition that Gandhi should return if, within a year, the community should need him.

There were farewell meetings in several places in Natal and everywhere costly gifts were presented to Gandhi in silver, gold and diamonds. One of the gifts was a gold necklace worth fifty guineas, meant for Kasturbai. Gandhi decided not to keep these gifts. But the decision was not so easy:

"The evening I was presented with the bulk of these things I had a sleepless night. I walked up and down my room deeply agitated, but

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He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

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From Sumati Mararjee Collection

Gokhale's reception at Lord's Ground, Durban
Gokhale with Gandhi, Kallenbach and members of the Reception Committee, Durban

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Tolstoy Farm
Lawley Station
Transvaal

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Letter continued

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The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

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Courtesy : Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad

Report in Gujarati of the first Natal Indian Congress, 1895

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920 344

Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, "The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 368

The article concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on "The music of the spinning wheel" dated July 21, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's article, "The First of August," in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 368

"The First of August" concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920 368

"Lokamanya" concluded 368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

assemblage exhorted the audience to unite and organize themselves for the country's cause. Calcutta's lead was followed by Madras, Bombay and Poona. In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India during the next Christmas. This can be said to be the origin of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of which marks the most important event in the political history of India. Poona was considered the most central and, therefore, suitable place. The following circular was issued:

"A conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The conference will be composed of delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the conference will be: (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a native parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres."

The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred and the conference, now called the Congress, was moved to Bombay. The historic session of the first Congress began on December 28, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. There seventy-two representatives who elected themselves as delegates met and discussed the programme, while another thirty or so attended as friends, being as Government servants precluded from acting as representatives in a political gathering, among whom the most noteworthy were Justice Ranade and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar. Among those who participated were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Narendranath Sen. The first voices heard were those of Allan Octavian Hume, S. Subramania Iyer and Telang

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facts and figures. Dadabhai had laid a special stress on Hindu-Muslim unity, which he pointed out was essential for India's progress.

Besides swaraj, this Congress popularized "Bande Mataram". It was sung for the first time in a Congress session, by the girls' choir, the audience standing.

The third day began with national songs. Nawabzada Atikulla Khan moved a resolution against the partition of Bengal, and declared that Hindus and Muslims should unitedly protest against it.

On the resolution of the boycott of British goods, Messrs. Ambika Charan Mazumdar, Bepin Chandra Pal and Pandit Malaviya spoke movingly. Gokhale declared that the boycott movement marking the resentment of the people against the partition of Bengal "was and is legitimate". Another resolution declared that the time had come to organize national education on national lines and under national control. On the swadeshi resolution, Tilak and Lajpat Rai spoke forcefully. They said that self-help, determination and self-sacrifice was the crying need of the time.

The Calcutta Congress registered a strong protest against the treatment of the Indians in South Africa.

India Backs Gandhi

1909

GANDHI's mission to London bore no fruit. Replying to a question in the House of Lords, Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, on November 17, 1909, remarked: "The spokesmen for the Indians have put their case with skill and fairness. The Transvaal ministers were willing to meet the majority of difficulties. There remains, however, the theoretical grievance that the Transvaal was shutting out the Asiatics. We cannot thwart the policy of self-governing colonies of South Africa."

In India, the people heard of the homes broken and the families ruined in the struggle. Fathers and sons sometimes had gone to jail simultaneously, leaving poor mothers and wives to maintain themselves by hawking fruit and vegetables. Merchants, who had never undergone physical exertion, had been breaking stones or doing scavengers' work in the Transvaal jails, wretchedly fed and scantily dressed in the chill winter.

Gokhale, addressing a meeting in Bombay, gave the following graphic description: "You will see that the first part of this resolution is practically identical with a resolution which was adopted in this very hall at the beginning of last year by a public meeting presided over by the Aga Khan. The position today is far worse than it was when the last meeting was held. Again out of about 8,000 men in the Transvaal 7,500 were engaged in the struggle. Today the total Indian population in that colony has dropped to less than 6,000; and though most of these are in deep sympathy with the struggle and are helping it financially and in other ways, the brunt of the prosecution is being borne by a brave band of about 500 Indians, led by the indomitable Gandhi, a man of tremendous spiritual power, one who is made of the stuff of which great heroes and martyrs are made. Those who will speak to the second resolution will tell you what dreadful hardships and sufferings have been endured by the passive

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii

FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi

INTRODUCTION xvii

PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1

BIRTH OF GANDHI 27

EARLY YEARS 29

STUDENT IN LONDON 34

BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40

UNWELCOME VISITOR 43

DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49

INDIAN INTERLUDE 55

THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58

ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63

VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68

BACK TO AFRICA 73

INDIAN OPINION 78

PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81

BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84

ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91

MISSION TO LONDON 97

BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100

PRISON EXPERIENCE 108

BREACH OF FAITH 114

TO LONDON AGAIN 120

HIND SWARAJ 127

assemblage exhorted the audience to unite and organize themselves for the country's cause. Calcutta's lead was followed by Madras, Bombay and Poona. In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India during the next Christmas. This can be said to be the origin of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of which marks the most important event in the political history of India. Poona was considered the most central and, therefore, suitable place. The following circular was issued:

"A conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The conference will be composed of delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the conference will be: (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a native parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres."

The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred and the conference, now called the Congress, was moved to Bombay. The historic session of the first Congress began on December 28, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. There seventy-two representatives who elected themselves as delegates met and discussed the programme, while another thirty or so attended as friends, being as Government servants precluded from acting as representatives in a political gathering, among whom the most noteworthy were Justice Ranade and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar. Among those who participated were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Narendranath Sen. The first voices heard were those of Allan Octavian Hume, S. Subramania Iyer and Telang

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920 344

Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, "The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 368

The article concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on "The music of the spinning wheel" dated July 21, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's article, "The First of August," in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 368

"The First of August" concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920 368

"Lokamanya" concluded 368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

India Backs Gandhi

1909

GANDHI's mission to London bore no fruit. Replying to a question in the House of Lords, Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, on November 17, 1909, remarked: "The spokesmen for the Indians have put their case with skill and fairness. The Transvaal ministers were willing to meet the majority of difficulties. There remains, however, the theoretical grievance that the Transvaal was shutting out the Asiatics. We cannot thwart the policy of self-governing colonies of South Africa."

In India, the people heard of the homes broken and the families ruined in the struggle. Fathers and sons sometimes had gone to jail simultaneously, leaving poor mothers and wives to maintain themselves by hawking fruit and vegetables. Merchants, who had never undergone physical exertion, had been breaking stones or doing scavengers' work in the Transvaal jails, wretchedly fed and scantily dressed in the chill winter.

Gokhale, addressing a meeting in Bombay, gave the following graphic description: "You will see that the first part of this resolution is practically identical with a resolution which was adopted in this very hall at the beginning of last year by a public meeting presided over by the Aga Khan. The position today is far worse than it was when the last meeting was held. Again out of about 8,000 men in the Transvaal 7,500 were engaged in the struggle. Today the total Indian population in that colony has dropped to less than 6,000; and though most of these are in deep sympathy with the struggle and are helping it financially and in other ways, the brunt of the prosecution is being borne by a brave band of about 500 Indians, led by the indomitable Gandhi, a man of tremendous spiritual power, one who is made of the stuff of which great heroes and martyrs are made. Those who will speak to the second resolution will tell you what dreadful hardships and sufferings have been endured by the passive

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

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bungalow, which was flat, a simple kind of adjustable windscreen was fixed up, and this served to shield the roof-sleepers from the wind. The roof was always used by Gandhi during the dry season as a sleeping-place.

Sanitary arrangements on the estate were primitive, each bungalow having its own little shelter, where a bucket system was installed, and each householder was responsible personally for the emptying of the bucket at a particular place set aside for the purpose.

Indian Opinion was published weekly. Its editor was still Nazar who worked for the paper from Durban, because he did not wish to shift to Phoenix. To reduce the expense and facilitate press-work, the paper was printed only in English and Gujarati, and the Hindi and Tamil sections were dropped. The object of the paper was "to bring the European and Indian subjects of King Edward closer together; to educate the public opinion; to remove causes for misunderstanding; to put before the Indians their own blemishes; and to show them the path of duty while they insisted on securing their right."

Gandhi had hardly settled down when he had to leave the newly constructed nest and go to Johannesburg. He could not afford to leave the work there unattended for any length of time.

In December 1904 the Indian Congress met in Bombay. Sir Henry Cotton, the president, suggested that a deputation should be sent from India to bring the Indians' grievances before the British electors and candidates as the general election was approaching in England. Tilak supporting the idea urged that there should be a permanent political mission in England. This Congress recorded its emphatic protest against the threatened enforcement, in an aggressive form, of the anti-Indian legislation of the late Boer Government of the Transvaal by the British Government. Sir Henry Cotton observed: "The British rulers of the Transvaal have applied themselves with British vigour and precision to the task of enforcing Boer law. In dealing with Indian colonists, their little finger has been thicker than Mr. Kruger's loins, and where he had whips, they have chastised with scorpions."

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Introduction

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I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

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The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii

FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi

INTRODUCTION xvii

PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1

BIRTH OF GANDHI 27

EARLY YEARS 29

STUDENT IN LONDON 34

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BACK TO AFRICA 73

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PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81

BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84

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MISSION TO LONDON 97

BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100

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He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

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ROLL CALL OF THE SAMALDAS COLLEGE FOR THE MONTH OF January

ROLL CALL OF THE SAMALDAS COLLEGE FOR THE MONTH OF June

Courtesy : Principal, Samaldas College

Entry in the register of the Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, 1888

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Student In London

1888–1891

In company with a Junagadh lawyer, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, aged nineteen, sailed from Bombay on September 4, 1888, reaching Southampton at the end of the month. He carried with him four letters of introduction to Dr. P. J. Mehta, Mr. Dalpatram Shukla, the great cricketer Prince Ranjitsinhji, and the most precious one to Dadabhai Naoroji. Actually the Maharashtrian friend who gave the note had never known Dadabhai personally. But he thought it might induce the shy Mohandas to meet the easily accessible Dadabhai who had recently presided over the second Congress held at Calcutta in 1886.

On the steamer, young Gandhi wore a black suit. Most of the time he confined himself to his cabin and being shy he ate food there. He touched no meat or wine on the journey and his meals consisted only of sweets and fruits which he had brought with him. Mohandas even secured a certificate from a fellow passenger that he ate no meat on the steamer. He stepped ashore in white flannels, the only person wearing such clothes.

Dr. Mehta, a friend of the Gandhi family, came to see Mohandas on the day of his arrival in London at the Victoria Hotel. Gandhi was intrigued to see his silken top hat and out of curiosity passed his hand over it in the wrong way and disturbed the fur. Immediately Dr. Mehta gave him the first lesson in European etiquette: "Do not touch other people's things. Do not ask questions as we do in India at first acquaintance; do not talk loudly. Never address people as 'Sir' whilst speaking to them as we do in India, only servants and subordinates address their master that way."

Gandhi found everything around him strange; he would continually think of his home and country. On the fourth day of his arrival he shifted from the hotel, which had cost him one pound a day, to less expensive quarters in a boarding-house kept by an English

Introduction

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When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

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After Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Dadabhai Naoroji, who was born in Bombay in 1825, occupied the most significant position. He was the founder in India and in England of more than thirty institutions. In the teeth of opposition Dadabhai laid the foundation of women's education in Bombay in 1849. In 1851 he started a Gujarati journal, *Rast Goftar*, as the organ of progressive views on social, religious and educational reforms. The first Indian to be a professor, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Physics at the Elphinstone College in 1854. Next year he accepted the offer to join the commercial firm of the Camas in London as he was "desirous of seeing an intimate connection established between England and India", and "particularly to provide home for young Indians so that they might freely go to England and compete for the Indian Civil Service and other services." Dadabhai, however, resigned his partnership in 1858 because he could not persuade himself to pocket earnings derived from dealings in opium, wine and spirits which led to the ruin of thousands. Dadabhai worked as Professor of Gujarati in University College, London, and actively participated in several institutions. Dadabhai founded in 1866 what is now known as the East India Association. He became an unofficial ambassador for India and worked for her in every field. In 1874 he was appointed a minister in the Baroda state and in 1885 he was nominated an additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He was elected a Member of Parliament in 1892, the first Indian so elected. His greatest gift to posterity was *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, published in 1901. He presided thrice over the Indian National Congress. In 1904 he attended the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam representing the people of India. The delegates leapt to their feet and stood uncovered before him in solemn silence to mark their respect for India's representative. On hearing Dadabhai, the Amsterdam Congress passed a resolution that it "brands Great Britain with the mark of shame for its treatment of India". The Grand Old Man of India died in 1917 at the age of ninety-two.

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Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920 344

Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, " The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 368

The article concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on " The music of the spinning wheel " dated July 21, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's article, " The First of August, " in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 368

" The First of August " concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920 368

" Lokamanya " concluded 368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

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craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

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The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

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Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

C/o Messrs Dada Abdulla & Co.
Durban
14-7-94

To
The Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji
M.P.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter dated the 7th instant, I have to inform you of the progress of the movement against the Franchise Law Amendment Bill as follows:-

The Bill passed the 3rd reading in the Legislative Council on the 7th instant. The other petition to the Council was accepted. One Hon. member moved the postponement of the 3rd reading till the petition was considered by the House. The motion was rejected.

The Governor has given his assent to the Bill subject to its being disallowed by Her Majesty. The Bill has a proviso in it that it shall not become law until by a proclamation or otherwise the Governor signifies that it is not Her Majesty's pleasure to disallow the Bill.

I send you herewith a copy of the petition to the Home Government that will be sent to the Governor here probably on the 17th instant. It will be signed by nearly 10000 Indians. Nearly 5000 signatures have already been received.

I regret to say that I am unable to send you a copy of the petition to the Council. I however beg to send a newspaper cutting which gives a fairly good report.

I do not think there remains anything more to be added. The situation is so critical that if the Franchise Bill becomes law, the position of the Indian 10 years hence will be simply intolerable in the Colony.

I remain
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Courtesy: R. P

A weekly letter to Dadabhai Naoroji, dated Durban, July 14, 1894

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Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248
Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248
Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248
Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248
Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248
Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280
Rare pictures of Gandhi 280
Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280
Lal, Bal, Pal 280
Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918
Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280
Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi, dated August 19, 1918 280
Gandhi's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj, dated Sabarmati, 1918, with a request for funds for ashram activities 280
Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918
Letter to Mahadev Desai, dated December 1919
A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280
Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312
Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312
Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312
Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312
Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312
Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312
Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312
First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312
Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312
First issue of *Young India*, dated Ahmedabad, October 8, 1919 312
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312
Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312
Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344
Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344
Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

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India Backs Gandhi

1909

Gandhi's mission to London bore no fruit. Replying to a question in the House of Lords, Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, on November 17, 1909, remarked: "The spokesmen for the Indians have put their case with skill and fairness. The Transvaal ministers were willing to meet the majority of difficulties. There remains, however, the theoretical grievance that the Transvaal was shutting out the Asiatics. We cannot thwart the policy of self-governing colonies of South Africa."

In India, the people heard of the homes broken and the families ruined in the struggle. Fathers and sons sometimes had gone to jail simultaneously, leaving poor mothers and wives to maintain themselves by hawking fruit and vegetables. Merchants, who had never undergone physical exertion, had been breaking stones or doing scavengers' work in the Transvaal jails, wretchedly fed and scantily dressed in the chill winter.

Gokhale, addressing a meeting in Bombay, gave the following graphic description: "You will see that the first part of this resolution is practically identical with a resolution which was adopted in this very hall at the beginning of last year by a public meeting presided over by the Aga Khan. The position today is far worse than it was when the last meeting was held. Again out of about 8,000 men in the Transvaal 7,500 were engaged in the struggle. Today the total Indian population in that colony has dropped to less than 6,000; and though most of these are in deep sympathy with the struggle and are helping it financially and in other ways, the brunt of the prosecution is being borne by a brave band of about 500 Indians, led by the indomitable Gandhi, a man of tremendous spiritual power, one who is made of the stuff of which great heroes and martyrs are made. Those who will speak to the second resolution will tell you what dreadful hardships and sufferings have been endured by the passive

Student In London

1888–1891

In company with a Junagadh lawyer, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, aged nineteen, sailed from Bombay on September 4, 1888, reaching Southampton at the end of the month. He carried with him four letters of introduction to Dr. P. J. Mehta, Mr. Dalpatram Shukla, the great cricketer Prince Ranjitsinhji, and the most precious one to Dadabhai Naoroji. Actually the Maharashtrian friend who gave the note had never known Dadabhai personally. But he thought it might induce the shy Mohandas to meet the easily accessible Dadabhai who had recently presided over the second Congress held at Calcutta in 1886.

On the steamer, young Gandhi wore a black suit. Most of the time he confined himself to his cabin and being shy he ate food there. He touched no meat or wine on the journey and his meals consisted only of sweets and fruits which he had brought with him. Mohandas even secured a certificate from a fellow passenger that he ate no meat on the steamer. He stepped ashore in white flannels, the only person wearing such clothes.

Dr. Mehta, a friend of the Gandhi family, came to see Mohandas on the day of his arrival in London at the Victoria Hotel. Gandhi was intrigued to see his silken top hat and out of curiosity passed his hand over it in the wrong way and disturbed the fur. Immediately Dr. Mehta gave him the first lesson in European etiquette: "Do not touch other people's things. Do not ask questions as we do in India at first acquaintance; do not talk loudly. Never address people as 'Sir' whilst speaking to them as we do in India, only servants and subordinates address their master that way."

Gandhi found everything around him strange; he would continually think of his home and country. On the fourth day of his arrival he shifted from the hotel, which had cost him one pound a day, to less expensive quarters in a boarding-house kept by an English

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248
Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248
Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248
Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248
Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248
Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280
Rare pictures of Gandhi 280
Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280
Lal, Bal, Pal 280
Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918
Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280
Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi, dated August 19, 1918 280
Gandhi's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj, dated Sabarmati, 1918, with a request for funds for ashram activities 280
Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918
Letter to Mahadev Desai, dated December 1919
A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280
Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312
Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312
Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312
Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312
Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312
Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312
Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312
First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312
Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312
First issue of *Young India*, dated Ahmedabad, October 8, 1919 312
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312
Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312
Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344
Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344
Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

Introduction

I CANNOT trace the origin of this book because it has written itself and it reflects the times in which I and my generation have grown. It is a dream-world from which I have not emerged. Gandhiji and his story are present all the time before my mind's eye. He is moving among us and talking to us, as he did only a few years ago. His death is but a small incident; he courted it and defied it many a time. It is only the finale to a majestic symphony.

When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

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List Of Illustrations

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, 1915 — Frontispiece

Delegates to the first Indian National Congress, Bombay, 1885 — 16

Sixth session of the Indian National Congress, Calcutta, 1890

Delegates to the twenty-ninth Congress session, Karachi, 1913

Social reform document, dated November 9, 1890, discouraging child marriage, dowry, etc., signed by the leaders of Maharashtra, headed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak — 16

Congress membership form signed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, 1916 — 16

Rabindranath Tagore reading his poem " India's Prayer " at the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, 1917 — 16

Gandhi's birthplace : Porbandar — 32

Mother : Putlibai — 32

Father : Karamchand Uttamchand Gandhi — 32

Mohandas at Porbandar, age 7 — 32

At Rajkot, age 14

With his brother, Laxmidas, 1886 — 32

Alfred High School, Rajkot — 32

Samaldas College, Bhavnagar

Gandhi's matriculation result, 1887 — 32

Entry in the register of the Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, 1888 — 32

As a law student, London — 40

Gandhi's first letter from London addressed to his brother, dated Friday, November 9, 1888 — 40

Letter to his brother, dated London, December 1888, containing a draft application for scholarship addressed to Mr. Lally, Chief Administrator, Porbandar — 40

His different addresses in London

Application for scholarship, dated December 1888, addressed from London to the Political Agent of Kathiawad — 40

Concluding page of the letter — 40

Facsimile of an interview with Gandhi published by the *Vegetarian*, London, dated June 13, 1891 — 40

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The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

growing and spreading over India—'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them. Be sure that before long the Muslims will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you,' and so forth." The Moderates pinned their hopes on Lord Morley, the author of *Compromise*. Whilst the Government of India were following a policy of ruthless repression against the Extremists, they were evolving a strategy to rally the Moderates, the Muslims, the landlords and the princes to their side. On November 2, 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's Proclamation, King Edward VII sent a message to the princes and people of India foreshadowing political reforms. On December 17 Lord Morley placed reforms proposals before Parliament. The Indian National Congress which met at Madras, shorn of its left wing, gave a hearty welcome to the Morley-Minto scheme. It became the Indian Councils Act, 1909, on May 15, and was put into force on November 15. Much water flowed down the bridges during 1908–9. The reforms were severely criticized even by the Moderates. This Pandora's box had a history behind it.

A Muslim deputation headed by the Aga Khan presented to Lord Minto an address on October 1, 1906. It was a long document, and it made two important demands on behalf of the Muslim community. First, that "the position accorded to the Muslim community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength, but also with the practical importance and the value of the contributions which they make to the defence of the empire" and with due regard to "the position they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago". Secondly, in the proposed reforms they should be given the right of sending their own representatives themselves through separate communal electorates. It was an open secret that the deputation was a "command performance", as Maulana Mahomed Ali later called it. Lord Minto in his reply accepted the position taken up by the deputation. He said, "I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent."

Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248

Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248

Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248

Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248

Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, " Hridaya Kunj " 248

Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280

Rare pictures of Gandhi 280

Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280

Lal, Bal, Pal 280

Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918

Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280

Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi, dated August 19, 1918 280

Gandhi's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj, dated Sabarmati, 1918, with a request for funds for ashram activities 280

Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918

Letter to Mahadev Desai, dated December 1919

A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280

Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312

Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312

Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312

Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312

Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312

Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312

Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312

First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312

Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312

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Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312

Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312

Gandhi in " Gandhi cap " invented by him, 1920 344

Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344

Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248
Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248
Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248
Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248
Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248
Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280
Rare pictures of Gandhi 280
Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280
Lal, Bal, Pal 280
Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918
Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280
Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi, dated August 19, 1918 280
Gandhi's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj, dated Sabarmati, 1918, with a request for funds for ashram activities 280
Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918
Letter to Mahadev Desai, dated December 1919
A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280
Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312
Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312
Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312
Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312
Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312
Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312
Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312
First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312
Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312
First issue of *Young India*, dated Ahmedabad, October 8, 1919 312
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312
Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312
Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344
Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344
Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920 344

Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, "The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 368

The article concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on "The music of the spinning wheel" dated July 21, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's article, "The First of August," in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 368

"The First of August" concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920 368

"Lokamanya" concluded 368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248
Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248
Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248
Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248
Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248
Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280
Rare pictures of Gandhi 280
Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280
Lal, Bal, Pal 280
Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918
Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280
Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi, dated August 19, 1918 280
Gandhi's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj, dated Sabarmati, 1918, with a request for funds for ashram activities 280
Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918
Letter to Mahadev Desai, dated December 1919
A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280
Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312
Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312
Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312
Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312
Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312
Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312
Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312
First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312
Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312
First issue of *Young India*, dated Ahmedabad, October 8, 1919 312
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312
Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312
Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344
Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344
Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920 344

Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference 344

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A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, "The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 368

The article concluded 368

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Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248
Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248
Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248
Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248
Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248
Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280
Rare pictures of Gandhi 280
Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280
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Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918
Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280
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Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918
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A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280
Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312
Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312
Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312
Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312
Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312
Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312
Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312
First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312
Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312
First issue of *Young India*, dated Ahmedabad, October 8, 1919 312
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312
Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312
Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344
Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344
Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

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with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

uncivilized government. If those powers were so used and if all of them were deported or imprisoned, that were an honour for them rather than they should foresake their solemn obligations and bid good-bye to their manhood and self-respect only because they were earning a few miserable pence or pounds. He would never be sorry for the advice he had given them, and he also said, with reference to their fifteen months' fight, that it was well done. This was a legislation which no self-respecting man could accept.

It seemed to him that they had come to the parting of the ways. The Imperial Government must hesitate if they meant to retain their hold on the people of India through their affections and not at the point of the bayonet. England might have to choose between India and the colonies. It might not be today or tomorrow, but he felt the seeds had been sown by Lord Elgin's action. It had not been possible for him to choose soft words when he found the Asiatic Act with the Immigration Registration Act superadded.

On December 28 Gandhi and his colleagues attended the court. They were asked whether they held duly issued registration certificates and upon receiving replies in the negative, they were all promptly arrested and charged in that they were in the Transvaal without a registration certificate issued under the act.

M. K. Gandhi, Attorney, Barrister-at-law of the Inner Temple, Hon. Secretary of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal, was the first of the accused to be dealt with.

Superintendent Vernon said that the accused was an Asiatic over sixteen years of age, resident in the Transvaal. That morning he called on Gandhi to produce his registration certificate, but the latter failed to do so and said he had not got one.

Gandhi asked no questions but went into the witness-box prepared to make a statement. He wished to say why he had not submitted to the Registration Act.

Mr. Jordan (magistrate): I don't think that has anything to do with it. The law is there, and you have disobeyed it. I don't want any political speeches made.

Gandhi: I don't want to make any political speeches.

Jordan: The question is, have you registered or not? If you have not registered, there is an end of the case. If you have any explanation to offer as regards the order I am going to make, that is another story. There is the law, which has been passed by the Transvaal

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

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Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

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Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, " The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 368

The article concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on " The music of the spinning wheel " dated July 21, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's article, " The First of August, " in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 368

" The First of August " concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920 368

" Lokamanya " concluded 368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

facts and figures. Dadabhai had laid a special stress on Hindu-Muslim unity, which he pointed out was essential for India's progress.

Besides swaraj, this Congress popularized "Bande Mataram". It was sung for the first time in a Congress session, by the girls' choir, the audience standing.

The third day began with national songs. Nawabzada Atikulla Khan moved a resolution against the partition of Bengal, and declared that Hindus and Muslims should unitedly protest against it.

On the resolution of the boycott of British goods, Messrs. Ambika Charan Mazumdar, Bepin Chandra Pal and Pandit Malaviya spoke movingly. Gokhale declared that the boycott movement marking the resentment of the people against the partition of Bengal "was and is legitimate". Another resolution declared that the time had come to organize national education on national lines and under national control. On the swadeshi resolution, Tilak and Lajpat Rai spoke forcefully. They said that self-help, determination and self-sacrifice was the crying need of the time.

The Calcutta Congress registered a strong protest against the treatment of the Indians in South Africa.

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii

FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi

INTRODUCTION xvii

PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1

BIRTH OF GANDHI 27

EARLY YEARS 29

STUDENT IN LONDON 34

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UNWELCOME VISITOR 43

DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49

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ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63

VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68

BACK TO AFRICA 73

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PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81

BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84

ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91

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HIND SWARAJ 127

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assemblage exhorted the audience to unite and organize themselves for the country's cause. Calcutta's lead was followed by Madras, Bombay and Poona. In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India during the next Christmas. This can be said to be the origin of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of which marks the most important event in the political history of India. Poona was considered the most central and, therefore, suitable place. The following circular was issued:

"A conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The conference will be composed of delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the conference will be: (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a native parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres."

The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred and the conference, now called the Congress, was moved to Bombay. The historic session of the first Congress began on December 28, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. There seventy-two representatives who elected themselves as delegates met and discussed the programme, while another thirty or so attended as friends, being as Government servants precluded from acting as representatives in a political gathering, among whom the most noteworthy were Justice Ranade and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar. Among those who participated were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Narendranath Sen. The first voices heard were those of Allan Octavian Hume, S. Subramania Iyer and Telang

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When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

M. K. GANDHI,
ATTORNEY.

21-24, Court Chambers,
Corner Rissik & Anderson Streets
Telephone No. 1635 P. O. Box 6522,
Telegrams: "GANDHI." A.B.C. Code 5th Edition Used

Johannesburg, 15th Aug., 1910.

Reply sent Nov. 1.10

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for your encouraging and cordial letter of the 8th May last. I very much value your general approval of my booklet "Indian Home Rule". And, if you have the time, I shall look forward to your detailed criticism of the work which you have been so good as to promise in your letter.

Mr. Kallenbach has written to you about Tolstoy Farm. Mr. Kallenbach and I have been friends for many years. I may state that he has gone through most of the experiences that you have so graphically described in your work "My Confession". No writings have so deeply touched Mr. Kallenbach as yours, and, as a spur to further effort in living up to the ideals held before the world by you, he has taken the liberty, after consultation with me, of naming his farm after you.

Of his generous action in giving the use of the farm for passive resisters, the numbers of "Indian Opinion" I am sending herewith will give you full information.

I should not have burdened you with these details but for the fact of your taking a personal interest in the passive resistance struggle that is going on in the Transvaal.

I remain,
Your faithful servant,
M K Gandhi

Count Leo Tolstoy,
Yasnaya Polyana.

Courtesy : Jawaharlal Nehru

Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy from Johannesburg, August 15, 1910

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

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The article concluded 368

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craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

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We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

self-sacrifice. Moreover, that spirit was displayed not by men only but by women and children. The brave Boer women took part even in fighting, and when they could not do that they encouraged their husbands and sons to fight and die for their country and their independence. Women and children suffered hardships, but would not ask their men to stop the struggle. The Boer War was to Gandhi a great experience which left its marks upon him and something to mould his character.

In India the Boer War made little impression on the nationalist opinion. The people were going through famines and were in a state of despair. The fifteenth Congress was held at Lucknow in December 1899. It was presided over by Romesh Chunder Dutt who treated at length the famine and the hardships of the poorer classes in India. The Congress referred to the plight of the Indians in South Africa.

The Congress held at Lahore in 1900 passed a new resolution on the South African question. It took into consideration the fact that the British had annexed the Transvaal in September 1900. The Congress pointed out that now the British were in a position to redress the disabilities of the Indians as the Transvaal was no more a Boer colony. The Boers had not taken kindly to the Indian settlers. Lord Landsdowne, Secretary of State for War and ex-Viceroy of India, had after the Boer War, assured a Sheffield audience that of all the misdeeds of the Boers, none filled him with so much anger as their treatment of the British Indians in the Transvaal.

Gandhi had stayed in South Africa six years instead of one month as originally intended and he now requested his co-workers to relieve him. He was afraid that his main job in South Africa now might become money-making. Friends in India were pressing Gandhi to return and he felt that he should be of more service in India. With great reluctance his request was accepted on condition that Gandhi should return if, within a year, the community should need him.

There were farewell meetings in several places in Natal and everywhere costly gifts were presented to Gandhi in silver, gold and diamonds. One of the gifts was a gold necklace worth fifty guineas, meant for Kasturbai. Gandhi decided not to keep these gifts. But the decision was not so easy:

"The evening I was presented with the bulk of these things I had a sleepless night. I walked up and down my room deeply agitated, but

craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920 344

Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, " The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 368

The article concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on " The music of the spinning wheel " dated July 21, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's article, " The First of August, " in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 368

" The First of August " concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920 368

" Lokamanya " concluded 368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248
Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248
Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248
Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248
Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248
Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280
Rare pictures of Gandhi 280
Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280
Lal, Bal, Pal 280
Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918
Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280
Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi, dated August 19, 1918 280
Gandhi's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj, dated Sabarmati, 1918, with a request for funds for ashram activities 280
Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918
Letter to Mahadev Desai, dated December 1919
A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280
Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312
Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312
Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312
Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312
Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312
Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312
Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312
First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312
Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312
First issue of *Young India*, dated Ahmedabad, October 8, 1919 312
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312
Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312
Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344
Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344
Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

who not only took the leading part in the movement but wrote the best commentary on it.

I never knew that I would undertake this work, although I was eager for many years to examine what Gandhiji did to mould the new thought. In the beginning I was a devotee, then a critic, and am now an impartial admirer. I belong to no particular school of thought, and have had no time, so far, to give my undivided attention to his philosophy as such. I did not always agree with him, but with his all-embracing life and his courage of conviction he has attracted me much more than any other historical figure.

I remember those early years when I read *Young India* with avidity and looked forward to the next issue. For thirty years, Gandhiji fed the minds of thousands and moulded the people's character imperceptibly. With perfect co-ordination between his activities and his writings and speeches, he set a supreme example for the people to follow, though they did not always do so intelligently. Today, it may seem that his influence has vanished and that he alone was his follower. But how can the seeds of great thoughts prove so barren?

Fortunately for India, Gandhiji lived long and led an intensely active life. It touched almost every phase of the nation's activity. His contacts were varied and his experiences unique. He made a gift of his wisdom to the world through his writings and speeches, illustrated by his actions. Einstein wrote: "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

I had the good fortune of receiving Gandhiji's co-operation in completing this work, which involved many years of research and took six years to write. Some of the important speeches and writings were revised by Gandhiji himself for this book. Historical facts have been checked from the original sources as well as from some of Gandhiji's colleagues. *Indian Opinion, Young India* and *Harijan* have been an important source of material, and I am greatly indebted to Mahadev Desai and to some extent to Pyarelal.

To make the work authentic and detailed, I have consulted daily newspapers of the last fifty years. All available literature, in several Indian and foreign languages, has been made use of and the chaff sifted from the grain. In doubtful cases my final authority was Gandhiji himself. When I met him last on January 22, 1948, we

factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him so intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the India of his day, and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

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Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920 344

Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, "The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 368

The article concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on "The music of the spinning wheel" dated July 21, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's article, "The First of August," in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 368

"The First of August" concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920 368

"Lokamanya" concluded 368

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Introduction

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When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

growing and spreading over India—'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them. Be sure that before long the Muslims will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you,' and so forth." The Moderates pinned their hopes on Lord Morley, the author of *Compromise*. Whilst the Government of India were following a policy of ruthless repression against the Extremists, they were evolving a strategy to rally the Moderates, the Muslims, the landlords and the princes to their side. On November 2, 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's Proclamation, King Edward VII sent a message to the princes and people of India foreshadowing political reforms. On December 17 Lord Morley placed reforms proposals before Parliament. The Indian National Congress which met at Madras, shorn of its left wing, gave a hearty welcome to the Morley-Minto scheme. It became the Indian Councils Act, 1909, on May 15, and was put into force on November 15. Much water flowed down the bridges during 1908–9. The reforms were severely criticized even by the Moderates. This Pandora's box had a history behind it.

A Muslim deputation headed by the Aga Khan presented to Lord Minto an address on October 1, 1906. It was a long document, and it made two important demands on behalf of the Muslim community. First, that "the position accorded to the Muslim community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength, but also with the practical importance and the value of the contributions which they make to the defence of the empire" and with due regard to "the position they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago". Secondly, in the proposed reforms they should be given the right of sending their own representatives themselves through separate communal electorates. It was an open secret that the deputation was a "command performance", as Maulana Mahomed Ali later called it. Lord Minto in his reply accepted the position taken up by the deputation. He said, "I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent."

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

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When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

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List Of Illustrations

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, 1915	Frontispiece
Delegates to the first Indian National Congress, Bombay, 1885	16
Sixth session of the Indian National Congress, Calcutta, 1890	
Delegates to the twenty-ninth Congress session, Karachi, 1913	
Social reform document, dated November 9, 1890, discouraging child marriage, dowry, etc., signed by the leaders of Maharashtra, headed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak	16
Congress membership form signed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, 1916	16
Rabindranath Tagore reading his poem " India's Prayer " at the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, 1917	16
Gandhi's birthplace : Porbandar	32
Mother : Putlibai	32
Father : Karamchand Uttamchand Gandhi	32
Mohandas at Porbandar, age 7	32
At Rajkot, age 14	
With his brother, Laxmidas, 1886	32
Alfred High School, Rajkot	32
Samaldas College, Bhavnagar	
Gandhi's matriculation result, 1887	32
Entry in the register of the Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, 1888	32
As a law student, London	40
Gandhi's first letter from London addressed to his brother, dated Friday, November 9, 1888	40
Letter to his brother, dated London, December 1888, containing a draft application for scholarship addressed to Mr. Lally, Chief Administrator, Porbandar	40
His different addresses in London	
Application for scholarship, dated December 1888, addressed from London to the Political Agent of Kathiawad	40
Concluding page of the letter	40
Facsimile of an interview with Gandhi published by the *Vegetarian*, London, dated June 13, 1891	40

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Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248

Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248

Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248

Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248

Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248

Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280

Rare pictures of Gandhi 280

Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280

Lal, Bal, Pal 280

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A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280

Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312

Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312

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Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312

Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344

Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344

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For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

assemblage exhorted the audience to unite and organize themselves for the country's cause. Calcutta's lead was followed by Madras, Bombay and Poona. In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India during the next Christmas. This can be said to be the origin of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of which marks the most important event in the political history of India. Poona was considered the most central and, therefore, suitable place. The following circular was issued:

"A conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The conference will be composed of delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the conference will be: (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a native parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres."

The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred and the conference, now called the Congress, was moved to Bombay. The historic session of the first Congress began on December 28, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. There seventy-two representatives who elected themselves as delegates met and discussed the programme, while another thirty or so attended as friends, being as Government servants precluded from acting as representatives in a political gathering, among whom the most noteworthy were Justice Ranade and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar. Among those who participated were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Narendranath Sen. The first voices heard were those of Allan Octavian Hume, S. Subramania Iyer and Telang

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Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248

Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248

Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248

Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248

Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248

Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280

Rare pictures of Gandhi 280

Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280

Lal, Bal, Pal 280

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A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280

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Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312

Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312

Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312

Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312

First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312

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Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312

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Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344

Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344

Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

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For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

of the treatment of our case would not prove an embarrassment. I have the honour to request you to direct him by an order under section 144 Cr. P.C. to leave Champaran at once if he should appear."

Gandhi on his arrival at Motihari sent a reply to the magistrate: "Out of a sense of public responsibility I feel it to be my duty to say that I am unable to leave the district but if it pleases the authorities, I shall submit to the order by suffering the penalty of disobedience. My desire is purely and simply for a genuine search for knowledge. And this I shall continue to satisfy so long as I am free."

Gandhi kept awake the whole night writing letters and giving necessary instructions to Brajkishore Prasad. He prepared also a plan for the guidance of those who were to carry on the work in his absence.

Telegrams were pouring in from all parts of India. Mazharal Haque wired his readiness to start, if required. Pandit Malaviya expressed his willingness to come, leaving the Hindu University work. Rajendra Prasad was informed to come at once with volunteers, Andrews joined the party, and went to see the collector, but could not meet him.

On April 17 a large number of tenants came to Motihari and their statements were being recorded. The police sub-inspector arrived on the scene and began to note down the names of those who were present there. Gandhi continued his work unperturbed.

The work of recording the statements of tenants went on the whole day. When no summons was received till the evening, Gandhi intimated the magistrate his intention of visiting Parsauni, a village sixteen miles from Motihari. He also told the magistrate that as he did not intend doing anything secretly, it would be better if a police officer accompanied him. The magistrate wrote back saying that he would be charged with an offence under section 108 I.P.C., that a summons would be issued against him, and that he hoped that Gandhi would not leave Motihari.

Shortly the summons came calling upon Gandhi to appear before the subdivisional officer on April 18. Gandhi further discussed the situation with his co-workers. He asked them, "What will you do after I am sent to jail?" The workers were at a loss. The discussions continued the whole night. Gandhi prepared a statement to be read before the court. He also wrote letters to the secretary of the Planters' Association and the commissioner in which he recounted the grievances of the tenants and suggested remedies. He gave instructions

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League — 344

Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920 — 344

Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference — 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press — 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 — 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 — 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, " The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 — 368

The article concluded — 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on " The music of the spinning wheel " dated July 21, 1920 — 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's article, " The First of August, " in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 — 368

" The First of August " concluded — 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920 — 368

" Lokamanya " concluded — 368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

C/o Messrs Dada Abdulla & Co.
Durban
14-7-94.

To
The Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji
M. P.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter dated the 7th instant, I have to inform you of the progress of the movement against the Franchise Law Amendment Bill as follows:-

The Bill passed the 3rd reading in the Legislative Council on the 9th instant. The other petition to the Council was accepted. One Hon. member moved the postponement of the 3rd reading till the petition was considered by the House. The motion was rejected.

The Governor has given his assent to the Bill subject to its being disallowed by Her Majesty. The Bill has a provision in it that it shall not become law until by a proclamation or otherwise the Governor signifies that it is not Her Majesty's wish to disallow the Bill.

I send you herewith a copy of the petition to the Home Government that will be sent to the Governor probably on the 17th instant. It will be signed by nearly 10000 Indians. Nearly 5000 signatures have already been received.

I regret to say that I am unable to send you a copy of the petition to the Council. I however beg to send a newspaper cutting which gives a fairly good report.

I do not think there remains anything more to be added. The situation is so critical that if the Franchise Bill becomes law, the position of the Indian 10 years hence will be simply intolerable in the Colony.

I remain
Your obedient servant
M. K. Gandhi

Courtesy: R. P

A weekly letter to Dadabhai Naoroji, dated Durban, July 14, 1894

Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248
Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248
Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248
Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248
Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248
Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280
Rare pictures of Gandhi 280
Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280
Lal, Bal, Pal 280
Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918
Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280
Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi, dated August 19, 1918 280
Gandhi's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj, dated Sabarmati, 1918, with a request for funds for ashram activities 280
Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918
Letter to Mahadev Desai, dated December 1919
A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280
Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312
Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312
Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312
Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312
Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312
Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312
Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312
First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312
Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312
First issue of *Young India*, dated Ahmedabad, October 8, 1919 312
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312
Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312
Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344
Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344
Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

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The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

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"Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a native parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres."

The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred and the conference, now called the Congress, was moved to Bombay. The historic session of the first Congress began on December 28, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. There seventy-two representatives who elected themselves as delegates met and discussed the programme, while another thirty or so attended as friends, being as Government servants precluded from acting as representatives in a political gathering, among whom the most noteworthy were Justice Ranade and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar. Among those who participated were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Narendranath Sen. The first voices heard were those of Allan Octavian Hume, S. Subramania Iyer and Telang

Introduction

I CANNOT trace the origin of this book because it has written itself and it reflects the times in which I and my generation have grown. It is a dream-world from which I have not emerged. Gandhiji and his story are present all the time before my mind's eye. He is moving among us and talking to us, as he did only a few years ago. His death is but a small incident; he courted it and defied it many a time. It is only the finale to a majestic symphony.

When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900—130 years—there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

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The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

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He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

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List Of Illustrations

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, 1915 — Frontispiece

Delegates to the first Indian National Congress, Bombay, 1885 — 16

Sixth session of the Indian National Congress, Calcutta, 1890

Delegates to the twenty-ninth Congress session, Karachi, 1913

Social reform document, dated November 9, 1890, discouraging child marriage, dowry, etc., signed by the leaders of Maharashtra, headed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak — 16

Congress membership form signed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, 1916 — 16

Rabindranath Tagore reading his poem " India's Prayer " at the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, 1917 — 16

Gandhi's birthplace : Porbandar — 32

Mother : Putlibai — 32

Father : Karamchand Uttamchand Gandhi — 32

Mohandas at Porbandar, age 7 — 32

At Rajkot, age 14

With his brother, Laxmidas, 1886 — 32

Alfred High School, Rajkot — 32

Samaldas College, Bhavnagar

Gandhi's matriculation result, 1887 — 32

Entry in the register of the Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, 1888 — 32

As a law student, London — 40

Gandhi's first letter from London addressed to his brother, dated Friday, November 9, 1888 — 40

Letter to his brother, dated London, December 1888, containing a draft application for scholarship addressed to Mr. Lally, Chief Administrator, Porbandar — 40

His different addresses in London

Application for scholarship, dated December 1888, addressed from London to the Political Agent of Kathiawad — 40

Concluding page of the letter — 40

Facsimile of an interview with Gandhi published by the *Vegetarian*, London, dated June 13, 1891 — 40

Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248
Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248
Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248
Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248
Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248
Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280
Rare pictures of Gandhi 280
Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280
Lal, Bal, Pal 280
Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918
Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280
Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi, dated August 19, 1918 280
Gandhi's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj, dated Sabarmati, 1918, with a request for funds for ashram activities 280
Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918
Letter to Mahadev Desai, dated December 1919
A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280
Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312
Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312
Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312
Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312
Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312
Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312
Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312
First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312
Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312
First issue of *Young India*, dated Ahmedabad, October 8, 1919 312
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312
Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312
Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344
Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344
Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

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assemblage exhorted the audience to unite and organize themselves for the country's cause. Calcutta's lead was followed by Madras, Bombay and Poona. In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India during the next Christmas. This can be said to be the origin of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of which marks the most important event in the political history of India. Poona was considered the most central and, therefore, suitable place. The following circular was issued:

"A conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The conference will be composed of delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the conference will be: (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a native parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres."

The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred and the conference, now called the Congress, was moved to Bombay. The historic session of the first Congress began on December 28, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. There seventy-two representatives who elected themselves as delegates met and discussed the programme, while another thirty or so attended as friends, being as Government servants precluded from acting as representatives in a political gathering, among whom the most noteworthy were Justice Ranade and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar. Among those who participated were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Narendranath Sen. The first voices heard were those of Allan Octavian Hume, S. Subramania Iyer and Telang

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

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[illegible] 9.8.94

C/o Messrs Dada Abdulla & Co
Durban
14-7-'94

To
The Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji
M.P.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter dated the 7th instant, I have to inform you of the progress of the movement against the Franchise Law Amendment Bill as follows:-

The Bill passed the 3rd reading in the Legislative Council on the 7th instant. The other petition to the Council was accepted. One Hon. member moved the postponement of the 3rd reading till the petition was considered by the House. The motion was rejected.

The Governor has given his assent to the Bill subject to its being disallowed by Her Majesty. The Bill has a provision in it that it shall not become law until by a proclamation the Governor signifies that it is not Her Majesty's wish to disallow the Bill.

I send you herewith a copy of the petition to the Home Government that will be sent to the Governor probably on the 17th instant. It will be signed by nearly 10000 Indians. Nearly 5000 signatures have already been received.

I regret to say that I am unable to send you a copy of the petition to the Council. I however beg to send a newspaper cutting which gives a fairly good report.

I do not think there remains anything more to be added. The situation is so critical that if the Franchise Bill becomes law, the position of the Indian 10 years hence will be simply intolerable in the Colony.

I remain
Your obedient servant
M. K. Gandhi

Courtesy: R. P

A weekly letter to Dadabhai Naoroji, dated Durban, July 14, 1894

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with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

bungalow, which was flat, a simple kind of adjustable windscreen was fixed up, and this served to shield the roof-sleepers from the wind. The roof was always used by Gandhi during the dry season as a sleeping-place.

Sanitary arrangements on the estate were primitive, each bungalow having its own little shelter, where a bucket system was installed, and each householder was responsible personally for the emptying of the bucket at a particular place set aside for the purpose.

Indian Opinion was published weekly. Its editor was still Nazar who worked for the paper from Durban, because he did not wish to shift to Phoenix. To reduce the expense and facilitate press-work, the paper was printed only in English and Gujarati, and the Hindi and Tamil sections were dropped. The object of the paper was "to bring the European and Indian subjects of King Edward closer together; to educate the public opinion; to remove causes for misunderstanding; to put before the Indians their own blemishes; and to show them the path of duty while they insisted on securing their right."

Gandhi had hardly settled down when he had to leave the newly constructed nest and go to Johannesburg. He could not afford to leave the work there unattended for any length of time.

In December 1904 the Indian Congress met in Bombay. Sir Henry Cotton, the president, suggested that a deputation should be sent from India to bring the Indians' grievances before the British electors and candidates as the general election was approaching in England. Tilak supporting the idea urged that there should be a permanent political mission in England. This Congress recorded its emphatic protest against the threatened enforcement, in an aggressive form, of the anti-Indian legislation of the late Boer Government of the Transvaal by the British Government. Sir Henry Cotton observed: "The British rulers of the Transvaal have applied themselves with British vigour and precision to the task of enforcing Boer law. In dealing with Indian colonists, their little finger has been thicker than Mr. Kruger's loins, and where he had whips, they have chastised with scorpions."

Introduction

I CANNOT trace the origin of this book because it has written itself and it reflects the times in which I and my generation have grown. It is a dream-world from which I have not emerged. Gandhiji and his story are present all the time before my mind's eye. He is moving among us and talking to us, as he did only a few years ago. His death is but a small incident; he courted it and defied it many a time. It is only the finale to a majestic symphony.

When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

A postcard written to Manilal, his son, during the voyage, October 14, 1906 104
Gandhi's letters to Dadabhai Naoroji, 1906-1907 104
Gandhi's letter to Gokhale, dated December 3, 1906 104
Pages from the manuscript of *Hind Swaraj* ; lower half of the second page written with left hand 104
Gandhi at Phoenix Settlement with his colleagues 104
Gandhi in London, 1909 144
His letters to Narandas Gandhi from London, 1909 144
Letter to Maganlal Gandhi from Tolstoy Farm
Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy, dated London, November 10, 1909 144
Another letter by Gandhi to Tolstoy, dated Johannesburg, 1910 144
A draft letter to Gandhi written by Tolstoy on May 8, 1910 144
Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy from Johannesburg, August 15, 1910 144
Tolstoy Farm, 1910 144
Gandhi and Kallenbach with the pioneer settlers at Tolstoy Farm
A leaf from Gandhi's diary, 1910 144
Gandhi's activities as caricatured in South African journals 160
Gandhi's letter to G. A. Natesan, dated Tolstoy Farm, December 9, 1910 160
Letter continued 160
Letter continued 160
Letter concluded 160
Letter to G. A. Natesan, dated May 31, 1911 160
Letter concluded 160
Gandhi receives Gokhale at Capetown, October 22, 1912 160
Gokhale and Gandhi on the way to a public reception
Gokhale's reception at Lord's Ground, Durban 160
Gokhale with Gandhi, Kallenbach and members of the Reception Committee, Durban
Gokhale and Gandhi in cartoons 160
Pages from Kallenbach's diary, Tolstoy Farm, 1912 160
Maulana Azad's *Al-Hilal*, dated Calcutta, December 3, 1913, backs Gandhi's struggle in South Africa 160
At Verulum with Mrs. Gandhi, August 1913 176
Gandhi with Kallenbach and Miss Schlesin, before the historic march of 1913 176
On march through Volksrust crossing into the Transvaal 176
Gandhi after his arrest, 1913 176
Gandhi's prison ticket, Bloemfontein, 1913-14 176
Epic March : Oct.-Nov. 1913 with 2,037 men, 127 women, 75 children, Newcastle to Volksrust 176

factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him so intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the India of his day, and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

Introduction

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When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248
Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248
Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248
Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248
Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248
Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280
Rare pictures of Gandhi 280
Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280
Lal, Bal, Pal 280
Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918
Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280
Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi, dated August 19, 1918 280
Gandhi's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj, dated Sabarmati, 1918, with a request for funds for ashram activities 280
Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918
Letter to Mahadev Desai, dated December 1919
A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280
Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312
Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312
Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312
Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312
Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312
Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312
Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312
First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312
Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312
First issue of *Young India*, dated Ahmedabad, October 8, 1919 312
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312
Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312
Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344
Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344
Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

growing and spreading over India—'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them. Be sure that before long the Muslims will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you,' and so forth." The Moderates pinned their hopes on Lord Morley, the author of *Compromise*. Whilst the Government of India were following a policy of ruthless repression against the Extremists, they were evolving a strategy to rally the Moderates, the Muslims, the landlords and the princes to their side. On November 2, 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's Proclamation, King Edward VII sent a message to the princes and people of India foreshadowing political reforms. On December 17 Lord Morley placed reforms proposals before Parliament. The Indian National Congress which met at Madras, shorn of its left wing, gave a hearty welcome to the Morley-Minto scheme. It became the Indian Councils Act, 1909, on May 15, and was put into force on November 15. Much water flowed down the bridges during 1908–9. The reforms were severely criticized even by the Moderates. This Pandora's box had a history behind it.

A Muslim deputation headed by the Aga Khan presented to Lord Minto an address on October 1, 1906. It was a long document, and it made two important demands on behalf of the Muslim community. First, that "the position accorded to the Muslim community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength, but also with the practical importance and the value of the contributions which they make to the defence of the empire" and with due regard to "the position they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago". Secondly, in the proposed reforms they should be given the right of sending their own representatives themselves through separate communal electorates. It was an open secret that the deputation was a "command performance", as Maulana Mahomed Ali later called it. Lord Minto in his reply accepted the position taken up by the deputation. He said, "I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent."

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He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

"Yes, we can talk in our newspapers of the progress of aviation, of complicated diplomatic relations, of different clubs and conventions, of unions of different kinds, of so-called productions of art, and keep silent about what that young lady said. But it cannot be passed over in silence, because it is felt, more or less dimly, but always felt, by every man in the Christian world. Socialism, communism, anarchism, Salvation Army, increasing crime, unemployment, the growing insane luxury of the rich and misery of the poor, the alarmingly increasing number of suicides—all these are the signs of that internal contradiction which must be solved and cannot remain unsolved. And they must be solved in the sense of acknowledging the law of love and denying violence.

"Therefore, your activity in the Transvaal, as it seems to us, at this end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, wherein not only the nations of the Christian, but of all the world, will unavoidably take part.

"I think that you will be pleased to know that here in Russia this activity is also fast developing in the way of refusals to serve in the army, the number of which increases from year to year. However insignificant is the number of our people who are passive resisters in Russia who refuse to serve in the army, these and the others can boldly say that God is with them. And God is much more powerful than man.

"In acknowledging Christianity even in that corrupt form in which it is professed amongst the Christian nations, and at the same time in acknowledging the necessity of armies and armament for killing on the greatest scale in wars, there is such a clear clamouring contradiction that it must sooner or later, possibly very soon, inevitably reveal itself and annihilate either the professing of the Christian religion, which is indispensable in keeping up these forces, or the existence of armies and all the violence kept up by them, which is not less necessary for power. This contradiction is felt by all governments, by your British as well as by our Russian Governments, and out of a general feeling of self-preservation the persecution by them—as seen in Russia and in the journal sent by you—against such anti-government activity, as those above-mentioned, is carried on with more energy than against any other form of opposition. The governments know where their chief danger lies, and they vigilantly guard in this question, not only their interests, but the question: 'To be or not to be?' "

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with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

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who not only took the leading part in the movement but wrote the best commentary on it.

I never knew that I would undertake this work, although I was eager for many years to examine what Gandhiji did to mould the new thought. In the beginning I was a devotee, then a critic, and am now an impartial admirer. I belong to no particular school of thought, and have had no time, so far, to give my undivided attention to his philosophy as such. I did not always agree with him, but with his all-embracing life and his courage of conviction he has attracted me much more than any other historical figure.

I remember those early years when I read *Young India* with avidity and looked forward to the next issue. For thirty years, Gandhiji fed the minds of thousands and moulded the people's character imperceptibly. With perfect co-ordination between his activities and his writings and speeches, he set a supreme example for the people to follow, though they did not always do so intelligently. Today, it may seem that his influence has vanished and that he alone was his follower. But how can the seeds of great thoughts prove so barren?

Fortunately for India, Gandhiji lived long and led an intensely active life. It touched almost every phase of the nation's activity. His contacts were varied and his experiences unique. He made a gift of his wisdom to the world through his writings and speeches, illustrated by his actions. Einstein wrote: "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

I had the good fortune of receiving Gandhiji's co-operation in completing this work, which involved many years of research and took six years to write. Some of the important speeches and writings were revised by Gandhiji himself for this book. Historical facts have been checked from the original sources as well as from some of Gandhiji's colleagues. *Indian Opinion*, *Young India* and *Harijan* have been an important source of material, and I am greatly indebted to Mahadev Desai and to some extent to Pyarelal.

To make the work authentic and detailed, I have consulted daily newspapers of the last fifty years. All available literature, in several Indian and foreign languages, has been made use of and the chaff sifted from the grain. In doubtful cases my final authority was Gandhiji himself. When I met him last on January 22, 1948, we

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

facts and figures. Dadabhai had laid a special stress on Hindu-Muslim unity, which he pointed out was essential for India's progress.

Besides swaraj, this Congress popularized "Bande Mataram". It was sung for the first time in a Congress session, by the girls' choir, the audience standing.

The third day began with national songs. Nawabzada Atikulla Khan moved a resolution against the partition of Bengal, and declared that Hindus and Muslims should unitedly protest against it.

On the resolution of the boycott of British goods, Messrs. Ambika Charan Mazumdar, Bepin Chandra Pal and Pandit Malaviya spoke movingly. Gokhale declared that the boycott movement marking the resentment of the people against the partition of Bengal "was and is legitimate". Another resolution declared that the time had come to organize national education on national lines and under national control. On the swadeshi resolution, Tilak and Lajpat Rai spoke forcefully. They said that self-help, determination and self-sacrifice was the crying need of the time.

The Calcutta Congress registered a strong protest against the treatment of the Indians in South Africa.

craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii

FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi

INTRODUCTION xvii

PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1

BIRTH OF GANDHI 27

EARLY YEARS 29

STUDENT IN LONDON 34

BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40

UNWELCOME VISITOR 43

DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49

INDIAN INTERLUDE 55

THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58

ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63

VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68

BACK TO AFRICA 73

INDIAN OPINION 78

PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81

BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84

ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91

MISSION TO LONDON 97

BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100

PRISON EXPERIENCE 108

BREACH OF FAITH 114

TO LONDON AGAIN 120

HIND SWARAJ 127

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Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League — 344

Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920 — 344

Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference — 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press — 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 — 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 — 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, " The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 — 368

The article concluded — 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on " The music of the spinning wheel " dated July 21, 1920 — 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's article, " The First of August, " in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 — 368

" The First of August " concluded — 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920 — 368

" Lokamanya " concluded — 368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

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Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author*	vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru*	xi
INTRODUCTION	xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR	1
BIRTH OF GANDHI	27
EARLY YEARS	29
STUDENT IN LONDON	34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER	40
UNWELCOME VISITOR	43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND	49
INDIAN INTERLUDE	55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI	58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD	63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS	68
BACK TO AFRICA	73
INDIAN OPINION	78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT	81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG	84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER	91
MISSION TO LONDON	97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA	100
PRISON EXPERIENCE	108
BREACH OF FAITH	114
TO LONDON AGAIN	120
HIND SWARAJ	127

who not only took the leading part in the movement but wrote the best commentary on it.

I never knew that I would undertake this work, although I was eager for many years to examine what Gandhiji did to mould the new thought. In the beginning I was a devotee, then a critic, and am now an impartial admirer. I belong to no particular school of thought, and have had no time, so far, to give my undivided attention to his philosophy as such. I did not always agree with him, but with his all-embracing life and his courage of conviction he has attracted me much more than any other historical figure.

I remember those early years when I read *Young India* with avidity and looked forward to the next issue. For thirty years, Gandhiji fed the minds of thousands and moulded the people's character imperceptibly. With perfect co-ordination between his activities and his writings and speeches, he set a supreme example for the people to follow, though they did not always do so intelligently. Today, it may seem that his influence has vanished and that he alone was his follower. But how can the seeds of great thoughts prove so barren ?

Fortunately for India, Gandhiji lived long and led an intensely active life. It touched almost every phase of the nation's activity. His contacts were varied and his experiences unique. He made a gift of his wisdom to the world through his writings and speeches, illustrated by his actions. Einstein wrote: "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

I had the good fortune of receiving Gandhiji's co-operation in completing this work, which involved many years of research and took six years to write. Some of the important speeches and writings were revised by Gandhiji himself for this book. Historical facts have been checked from the original sources as well as from some of Gandhiji's colleagues. *Indian Opinion, Young India* and *Harijan* have been an important source of material, and I am greatly indebted to Mahadev Desai and to some extent to Pyarelal.

To make the work authentic and detailed, I have consulted daily newspapers of the last fifty years. All available literature, in several Indian and foreign languages, has been made use of and the chaff sifted from the grain. In doubtful cases my final authority was Gandhiji himself. When I met him last on January 22, 1948, we

self-sacrifice. Moreover, that spirit was displayed not by men only but by women and children. The brave Boer women took part even in fighting, and when they could not do that they encouraged their husbands and sons to fight and die for their country and their independence. Women and children suffered hardships, but would not ask their men to stop the struggle. The Boer War was to Gandhi a great experience which left its marks upon him and something to mould his character.

In India the Boer War made little impression on the nationalist opinion. The people were going through famines and were in a state of despair. The fifteenth Congress was held at Lucknow in December 1899. It was presided over by Romesh Chunder Dutt who treated at length the famine and the hardships of the poorer classes in India. The Congress referred to the plight of the Indians in South Africa.

The Congress held at Lahore in 1900 passed a new resolution on the South African question. It took into consideration the fact that the British had annexed the Transvaal in September 1900. The Congress pointed out that now the British were in a position to redress the disabilities of the Indians as the Transvaal was no more a Boer colony. The Boers had not taken kindly to the Indian settlers. Lord Landsdowne, Secretary of State for War and ex-Viceroy of India, had after the Boer War, assured a Sheffield audience that of all the misdeeds of the Boers, none filled him with so much anger as their treatment of the British Indians in the Transvaal.

Gandhi had stayed in South Africa six years instead of one month as originally intended and he now requested his co-workers to relieve him. He was afraid that his main job in South Africa now might become money-making. Friends in India were pressing Gandhi to return and he felt that he should be of more service in India. With great reluctance his request was accepted on condition that Gandhi should return if, within a year, the community should need him.

There were farewell meetings in several places in Natal and everywhere costly gifts were presented to Gandhi in silver, gold and diamonds. One of the gifts was a gold necklace worth fifty guineas, meant for Kasturbai. Gandhi decided not to keep these gifts. But the decision was not so easy:

"The evening I was presented with the bulk of these things I had a sleepless night. I walked up and down my room deeply agitated, but

We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

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Agarkar and Tilak started the New English School, the English weekly *Mahratta*, and the Marathi weekly *Kesari* to propagate and prepare the people for national service. The triumvirate rose rapidly to prominence. In 1896 as a result of the unbridgeable gulf between Tilak's extremist school and Ranade's moderate school of thought, the Deccan Association was inaugurated by Ranade and his pupil Gokhale.

After Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Dadabhai Naoroji, who was born in Bombay in 1825, occupied the most significant position. He was the founder in India and in England of more than thirty institutions. In the teeth of opposition Dadabhai laid the foundation of women's education in Bombay in 1849. In 1851 he started a Gujarati journal, *Rast Goftar*, as the organ of progressive views on social, religious and educational reforms. The first Indian to be a professor, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Physics at the Elphinstone College in 1854. Next year he accepted the offer to join the commercial firm of the Camas in London as he was "desirous of seeing an intimate connection established between England and India", and "particularly to provide home for young Indians so that they might freely go to England and compete for the Indian Civil Service and other services." Dadabhai, however, resigned his partnership in 1858 because he could not persuade himself to pocket earnings derived from dealings in opium, wine and spirits which led to the ruin of thousands. Dadabhai worked as Professor of Gujarati in University College, London, and actively participated in several institutions. Dadabhai founded in 1866 what is now known as the East India Association. He became an unofficial ambassador for India and worked for her in every field. In 1874 he was appointed a minister in the Baroda state and in 1885 he was nominated an additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He was elected a Member of Parliament in 1892, the first Indian so elected. His greatest gift to posterity was *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, published in 1901. He presided thrice over the Indian National Congress. In 1904 he attended the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam representing the people of India. The delegates leapt to their feet and stood uncovered before him in solemn silence to mark their respect for India's representative. On hearing Dadabhai, the Amsterdam Congress passed a resolution that it "brands Great Britain with the mark of shame for its treatment of India". The Grand Old Man of India died in 1917 at the age of ninety-two.

We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

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craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".



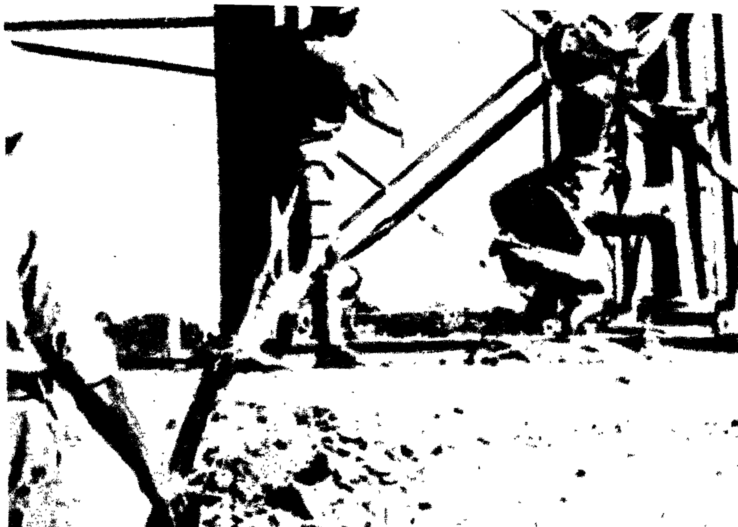
Courtesy : N. V. Virkar

Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi

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Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919

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C/o Messrs Dada Abdulla & Co
Durban
14-7-'94

To
The Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji
M.P.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter dated the 7th instant, I have to inform you of the progress of the movement against the Franchise Law Amendment Bill as follows:—

The Bill passed the 3rd reading in the Legislative Council on the 7th instant. The other petition to the Council was accepted. One Hon. member moved the postponement of the 3rd reading till the petition was considered by the House. The motion was rejected.

The Governor has given his assent to the Bill subject to its being disallowed by Her Majesty. The Bill has a proviso in it that it shall not become law until by a proclamation or otherwise the Governor signifies that it is not Her Majesty's wish to disallow the Bill.

I send you herewith a copy of the petition to the Home Government that will be sent to the Governor here probably on the 17th instant. It will be signed by nearly 10000 Indians. Nearly 5000 signatures have already been received.

I regret to say that I am unable to send you a copy of the petition to the Council. I however beg to send a newspaper cutting which gives a fairly good report.

I do not think there remains anything more to be added. The situation is so critical that if the Franchise Bill becomes law, the position of the Indian 10 years hence will be simply intolerable in the Colony.

I remain,
Your obedient servant,
M. K. Gandhi

Courtesy: R. P

A weekly letter to Dadabhai Naoroji, dated Durban, July 14, 1894

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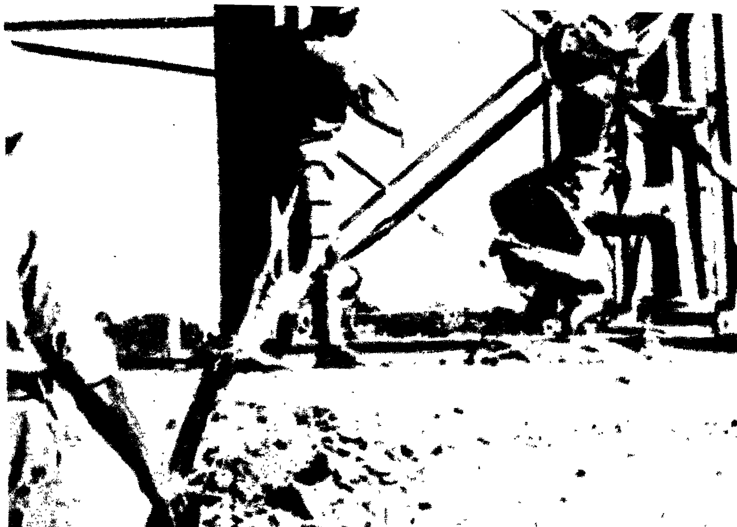
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From Sumati Morarjee Collection

Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919

M. K. GANDHI,
ATTORNEY.

21-24, Court Chambers,
Corner Rissik & Anderson Streets
Telephone No 1635 P.O. Box 6522.
Telegrams: "GANDHI." A.B.C. Code 5th Edition Used

Johannesburg, 15th Aug., 1910.

Reply sent Nov. 1.10

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for your encouraging and cordial letter of the 8th May last. I very much value your general approval of my booklet "Indian Home Rule". And, if you have the time, I shall look forward to your detailed criticism of the work which you have been so good as to promise in your letter.

Mr. Kallenbach has written to you about Tolstoy Farm. Mr. Kallenbach and I have been friends for many years. I may state that he has gone through most of the experiences that you have so graphically described in your work "My Confession". No writings have so deeply touched Mr. Kallenbach as yours, and, as a spur to further effort in living up to the ideals held before the world by you, he has taken the liberty, after consultation with me, of naming his farm after you.

Of his generous action in giving the use of the farm for passive resisters, the numbers of "Indian Opinion" I am sending herewith will give you full information.

I should not have burdened you with these details but for the fact of your taking a personal interest in the passive resistance struggle that is going on in the Transvaal.

I remain,
Your faithful servant,
M. K. Gandhi

Count Leo Tolstoy,
Yasnaya Polyana.

Courtesy : Jawaharlal Nehru

Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy from Johannesburg, August 15, 1910

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Johannesburg, 15th Aug., 1910.

Reply sent Nov. 1.10

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for your encouraging and cordial letter of the 8th May last. I very much value your general approval of my booklet "Indian Home Rule". And, if you have the time, I shall look forward to your detailed criticism of the work which you have been so good as to promise in your letter.

Mr. Kallenbach has written to you about Tolstoy Farm. Mr. Kallenbach and I have been friends for many years. I may state that he has gone through most of the experiences that you have so graphically described in your work "My Confession". No writings have so deeply touched Mr. Kallenbach as yours, and, as a spur to further effort in living up to the ideals held before the world by you, he has taken the liberty, after consultation with me, of naming his farm after you.

Of his generous action in giving the use of the farm for passive resisters, the numbers of "Indian Opinion" I am sending herewith will give you full information.

I should not have burdened you with these details but for the fact of your taking a personal interest in the passive resistance struggle that is going on in the Transvaal.

I remain,

Your faithful servant,

M. K. Gandhi

Count Leo Tolstoy,

Yasnaya Polyana.

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Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy from Johannesburg, August 15, 1910

bungalow, which was flat, a simple kind of adjustable windscreen was fixed up, and this served to shield the roof-sleepers from the wind. The roof was always used by Gandhi during the dry season as a sleeping-place.

Sanitary arrangements on the estate were primitive, each bungalow having its own little shelter, where a bucket system was installed, and each householder was responsible personally for the emptying of the bucket at a particular place set aside for the purpose.

Indian Opinion was published weekly. Its editor was still Nazar who worked for the paper from Durban, because he did not wish to shift to Phoenix. To reduce the expense and facilitate press-work, the paper was printed only in English and Gujarati, and the Hindi and Tamil sections were dropped. The object of the paper was "to bring the European and Indian subjects of King Edward closer together; to educate the public opinion; to remove causes for misunderstanding; to put before the Indians their own blemishes; and to show them the path of duty while they insisted on securing their right."

Gandhi had hardly settled down when he had to leave the newly constructed nest and go to Johannesburg. He could not afford to leave the work there unattended for any length of time.

In December 1904 the Indian Congress met in Bombay. Sir Henry Cotton, the president, suggested that a deputation should be sent from India to bring the Indians' grievances before the British electors and candidates as the general election was approaching in England. Tilak supporting the idea urged that there should be a permanent political mission in England. This Congress recorded its emphatic protest against the threatened enforcement, in an aggressive form, of the anti-Indian legislation of the late Boer Government of the Transvaal by the British Government. Sir Henry Cotton observed: "The British rulers of the Transvaal have applied themselves with British vigour and precision to the task of enforcing Boer law. In dealing with Indian colonists, their little finger has been thicker than Mr. Kruger's loins, and where he had whips, they have chastised with scorpions."

factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him so intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the India of his day, and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

A postcard written to Manilal, his son, during the voyage, October 14, 1906 — 104
Gandhi's letters to Dadabhai Naoroji, 1906-1907 — 104
Gandhi's letter to Gokhale, dated December 3, 1906 — 104
Pages from the manuscript of *Hind Swaraj* ; lower half of the second page written with left hand — 104
Gandhi at Phoenix Settlement with his colleagues — 104
Gandhi in London, 1909 — 144
His letters to Narandas Gandhi from London, 1909 — 144
Letter to Maganlal Gandhi from Tolstoy Farm
Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy, dated London, November 10, 1909 — 144
Another letter by Gandhi to Tolstoy, dated Johannesburg, 1910 — 144
A draft letter to Gandhi written by Tolstoy on May 8, 1910 — 144
Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy from Johannesburg, August 15, 1910 — 144
Tolstoy Farm, 1910 — 144
Gandhi and Kallenbach with the pioneer settlers at Tolstoy Farm
A leaf from Gandhi's diary, 1910 — 144
Gandhi's activities as caricatured in South African journals — 160
Gandhi's letter to G. A. Natesan, dated Tolstoy Farm, December 9, 1910 — 160
Letter continued — 160
Letter continued — 160
Letter concluded — 160
Letter to G. A. Natesan, dated May 31, 1911 — 160
Letter concluded — 160
Gandhi receives Gokhale at Capetown, October 22, 1912 — 160
Gokhale and Gandhi on the way to a public reception
Gokhale's reception at Lord's Ground, Durban — 160
Gokhale with Gandhi, Kallenbach and members of the Reception Committee, Durban
Gokhale and Gandhi in cartoons — 160
Pages from Kallenbach's diary, Tolstoy Farm, 1912 — 160
Maulana Azad's *Al-Hilal*, dated Calcutta, December 3, 1913, backs Gandhi's struggle in South Africa — 160
At Verulum with Mrs. Gandhi, August 1913 — 176
Gandhi with Kallenbach and Miss Schlesin, before the historic march of 1913 — 176
On march through Volksrust crossing into the Transvaal — 176
Gandhi after his arrest, 1913 — 176
Gandhi's prison ticket, Bloemfontein, 1913-14 — 176
Epic March : Oct.-Nov. 1913 with 2,037 men, 127 women, 75 children, Newcastle to Volksrust — 176

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

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Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920 344

Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, " The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 368

The article concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on " The music of the spinning wheel " dated July 21, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's article, " The First of August, " in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 368

" The First of August " concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920 368

" Lokamanya " concluded 368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A postcard written to Manilal, his son, during the voyage, October 14, 1906	104
Gandhi's letters to Dadabhai Naoroji, 1906-1907	104
Gandhi's letter to Gokhale, dated December 3, 1906	104
Pages from the manuscript of *Hind Swaraj*; lower half of the second page written with left hand	104
Gandhi at Phoenix Settlement with his colleagues	104
Gandhi in London, 1909	144
His letters to Narandas Gandhi from London, 1909	144
Letter to Maganlal Gandhi from Tolstoy Farm	
Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy, dated London, November 10, 1909	144
Another letter by Gandhi to Tolstoy, dated Johannesburg, 1910	144
A draft letter to Gandhi written by Tolstoy on May 8, 1910	144
Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy from Johannesburg, August 15, 1910	144
Tolstoy Farm, 1910	144
Gandhi and Kallenbach with the pioneer settlers at Tolstoy Farm	
A leaf from Gandhi's diary, 1910	144
Gandhi's activities as caricatured in South African journals	160
Gandhi's letter to G. A. Natesan, dated Tolstoy Farm, December 9, 1910	160
Letter continued	160
Letter continued	160
Letter concluded	160
Letter to G. A. Natesan, dated May 31, 1911	160
Letter concluded	160
Gandhi receives Gokhale at Capetown, October 22, 1912	160
Gokhale and Gandhi on the way to a public reception	
Gokhale's reception at Lord's Ground, Durban	160
Gokhale with Gandhi, Kallenbach and members of the Reception Committee, Durban	
Gokhale and Gandhi in cartoons	160
Pages from Kallenbach's diary, Tolstoy Farm, 1912	160
Maulana Azad's *Al-Hilal*, dated Calcutta, December 3, 1913, backs Gandhi's struggle in South Africa	160
At Verulum with Mrs. Gandhi, August 1913	176
Gandhi with Kallenbach and Miss Schlesin, before the historic march of 1913	176
On march through Volksrust crossing into the Transvaal	176
Gandhi after his arrest, 1913	176
Gandhi's prison ticket, Bloemfontein, 1913-14	176
Epic March: Oct.-Nov. 1913 with 2,037 men, 127 women, 75 children, Newcastle to Volksrust	176

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assemblage exhorted the audience to unite and organize themselves for the country's cause. Calcutta's lead was followed by Madras, Bombay and Poona. In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India during the next Christmas. This can be said to be the origin of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of which marks the most important event in the political history of India. Poona was considered the most central and, therefore, suitable place. The following circular was issued:

"A conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The conference will be composed of delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the conference will be: (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a native parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres."

The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred and the conference, now called the Congress, was moved to Bombay. The historic session of the first Congress began on December 28, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. There seventy-two representatives who elected themselves as delegates met and discussed the programme, while another thirty or so attended as friends, being as Government servants precluded from acting as representatives in a political gathering, among whom the most noteworthy were Justice Ranade and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar. Among those who participated were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Narendranath Sen. The first voices heard were those of Allan Octavian Hume, S. Subramania Iyer and Telang

India Backs Gandhi

1909

GANDHI's mission to London bore no fruit. Replying to a question in the House of Lords, Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, on November 17, 1909, remarked: "The spokesmen for the Indians have put their case with skill and fairness. The Transvaal ministers were willing to meet the majority of difficulties. There remains, however, the theoretical grievance that the Transvaal was shutting out the Asiatics. We cannot thwart the policy of self-governing colonies of South Africa."

In India, the people heard of the homes broken and the families ruined in the struggle. Fathers and sons sometimes had gone to jail simultaneously, leaving poor mothers and wives to maintain themselves by hawking fruit and vegetables. Merchants, who had never undergone physical exertion, had been breaking stones or doing scavengers' work in the Transvaal jails, wretchedly fed and scantily dressed in the chill winter.

Gokhale, addressing a meeting in Bombay, gave the following graphic description: "You will see that the first part of this resolution is practically identical with a resolution which was adopted in this very hall at the beginning of last year by a public meeting presided over by the Aga Khan. The position today is far worse than it was when the last meeting was held. Again out of about 8,000 men in the Transvaal 7,500 were engaged in the struggle. Today the total Indian population in that colony has dropped to less than 6,000; and though most of these are in deep sympathy with the struggle and are helping it financially and in other ways, the brunt of the prosecution is being borne by a brave band of about 500 Indians, led by the indomitable Gandhi, a man of tremendous spiritual power, one who is made of the stuff of which great heroes and martyrs are made. Those who will speak to the second resolution will tell you what dreadful hardships and sufferings have been endured by the passive

humanitarian work of a permanent nature and so he daily worked a few hours in a small hospital in ascertaining the patients' complaints, laying the facts before the doctor and dispensing the prescriptions. It brought him in closer touch with suffering Indians, most of them, indentured labourers.

Gandhi had two sons born in South Africa, and his experience in the hospital was useful in rearing them up. He studied a book, *Advice to a Mother*, nursed his babies and served as a midwife at the birth of his last son. He did not desire any more children and began to strive after self-control.

Gandhi studied the happenings in India and educated his compatriots to take interest in them. They sent handsome contribution for famine relief in India during 1897-9.

Gandhi's recent mission to India bore fruit. The Calcutta Congress of 1896 passed a strong resolution protesting against the disabilities inflicted on Indians in South Africa. In 1897, the previous year's resolution on South Africa was repeated by the Congress.

Agarkar and Tilak started the New English School, the English weekly *Mahratta*, and the Marathi weekly *Kesari* to propagate and prepare the people for national service. The triumvirate rose rapidly to prominence. In 1896 as a result of the unbridgeable gulf between Tilak's extremist school and Ranade's moderate school of thought, the Deccan Association was inaugurated by Ranade and his pupil Gokhale.

After Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Dadabhai Naoroji, who was born in Bombay in 1825, occupied the most significant position. He was the founder in India and in England of more than thirty institutions. In the teeth of opposition Dadabhai laid the foundation of women's education in Bombay in 1849. In 1851 he started a Gujarati journal, *Rast Goftar*, as the organ of progressive views on social, religious and educational reforms. The first Indian to be a professor, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Physics at the Elphinstone College in 1854. Next year he accepted the offer to join the commercial firm of the Camas in London as he was "desirous of seeing an intimate connection established between England and India", and "particularly to provide home for young Indians so that they might freely go to England and compete for the Indian Civil Service and other services." Dadabhai, however, resigned his partnership in 1858 because he could not persuade himself to pocket earnings derived from dealings in opium, wine and spirits which led to the ruin of thousands. Dadabhai worked as Professor of Gujarati in University College, London, and actively participated in several institutions. Dadabhai founded in 1866 what is now known as the East India Association. He became an unofficial ambassador for India and worked for her in every field. In 1874 he was appointed a minister in the Baroda state and in 1885 he was nominated an additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He was elected a Member of Parliament in 1892, the first Indian so elected. His greatest gift to posterity was *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, published in 1901. He presided thrice over the Indian National Congress. In 1904 he attended the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam representing the people of India. The delegates leapt to their feet and stood uncovered before him in solemn silence to mark their respect for India's representative. On hearing Dadabhai, the Amsterdam Congress passed a resolution that it "brands Great Britain with the mark of shame for its treatment of India". The Grand Old Man of India died in 1917 at the age of ninety-two.

Introduction

I CANNOT trace the origin of this book because it has written itself and it reflects the times in which I and my generation have grown. It is a dream-world from which I have not emerged. Gandhiji and his story are present all the time before my mind's eye. He is moving among us and talking to us, as he did only a few years ago. His death is but a small incident; he courted it and defied it many a time. It is only the finale to a majestic symphony.

When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248
Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248
Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248
Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248
Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248
Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280
Rare pictures of Gandhi 280
Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280
Lal, Bal, Pal 280
Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918
Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280
Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi, dated August 19, 1918 280
Gandhi's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj, dated Sabarmati, 1918, with a request for funds for ashram activities 280
Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918
Letter to Mahadev Desai, dated December 1919
A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280
Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312
Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312
Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312
Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312
Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312
Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312
Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312
First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312
Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312
First issue of *Young India*, dated Ahmedabad, October 8, 1919 312
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312
Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312
Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344
Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344
Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

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Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him so intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the India of his day, and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920 344

Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, "The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 368

The article concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on "The music of the spinning wheel" dated July 21, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's article, "The First of August," in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 368

"The First of August" concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920 368

"Lokamanya" concluded 368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

who not only took the leading part in the movement but wrote the best commentary on it.

I never knew that I would undertake this work, although I was eager for many years to examine what Gandhiji did to mould the new thought. In the beginning I was a devotee, then a critic, and am now an impartial admirer. I belong to no particular school of thought, and have had no time, so far, to give my undivided attention to his philosophy as such. I did not always agree with him, but with his all-embracing life and his courage of conviction he has attracted me much more than any other historical figure.

I remember those early years when I read *Young India* with avidity and looked forward to the next issue. For thirty years, Gandhiji fed the minds of thousands and moulded the people's character imperceptibly. With perfect co-ordination between his activities and his writings and speeches, he set a supreme example for the people to follow, though they did not always do so intelligently. Today, it may seem that his influence has vanished and that he alone was his follower. But how can the seeds of great thoughts prove so barren ?

Fortunately for India, Gandhiji lived long and led an intensely active life. It touched almost every phase of the nation's activity. His contacts were varied and his experiences unique. He made a gift of his wisdom to the world through his writings and speeches, illustrated by his actions. Einstein wrote : "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

I had the good fortune of receiving Gandhiji's co-operation in completing this work, which involved many years of research and took six years to write. Some of the important speeches and writings were revised by Gandhiji himself for this book. Historical facts have been checked from the original sources as well as from some of Gandhiji's colleagues. *Indian Opinion, Young India* and *Harijan* have been an important source of material, and I am greatly indebted to Mahadev Desai and to some extent to Pyarelal.

To make the work authentic and detailed, I have consulted daily newspapers of the last fifty years. All available literature, in several Indian and foreign languages, has been made use of and the chaff sifted from the grain. In doubtful cases my final authority was Gandhiji himself. When I met him last on January 22, 1948, we

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Student In London

1888–1891

IN COMPANY with a Junagadh lawyer, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, aged nineteen, sailed from Bombay on September 4, 1888, reaching Southampton at the end of the month. He carried with him four letters of introduction to Dr. P. J. Mehta, Mr. Dalpatram Shukla, the great cricketer Prince Ranjitsinhji, and the most precious one to Dadabhai Naoroji. Actually the Maharashtrian friend who gave the note had never known Dadabhai personally. But he thought it might induce the shy Mohandas to meet the easily accessible Dadabhai who had recently presided over the second Congress held at Calcutta in 1886.

On the steamer, young Gandhi wore a black suit. Most of the time he confined himself to his cabin and being shy he ate food there. He touched no meat or wine on the journey and his meals consisted only of sweets and fruits which he had brought with him. Mohandas even secured a certificate from a fellow passenger that he ate no meat on the steamer. He stepped ashore in white flannels, the only person wearing such clothes.

Dr. Mehta, a friend of the Gandhi family, came to see Mohandas on the day of his arrival in London at the Victoria Hotel. Gandhi was intrigued to see his silken top hat and out of curiosity passed his hand over it in the wrong way and disturbed the fur. Immediately Dr. Mehta gave him the first lesson in European etiquette: "Do not touch other people's things. Do not ask questions as we do in India at first acquaintance; do not talk loudly. Never address people as 'Sir' whilst speaking to them as we do in India, only servants and subordinates address their master that way."

Gandhi found everything around him strange; he would continually think of his home and country. On the fourth day of his arrival he shifted from the hotel, which had cost him one pound a day, to less expensive quarters in a boarding-house kept by an English

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When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League	344
Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920	344
Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference	344
Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press	344
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920	344
A caricature of Gandhi, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, "The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920	368
The article concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on "The music of the spinning wheel" dated July 21, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's article, "The First of August," in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920	368
"The First of August" concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920	368
"Lokamanya" concluded	368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

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INNER TEMPLE.

This is to Certify to whom it may concern

That Mohandass Karamchand Gandhi

of [illegible] Barons Court Road West Kensington, the

[illegible] son of Karamchand Uttamchand Gandhi

[illegible] India deceased, was generally admitted of

The Honourable Society of the Inner Temple

on the sixth day of November One thousand eight

hundred and eighty eight and was called to the Bar by the same

Society on the tenth day of June One thousand eight

hundred and ninety one and has paid all duties to the

House and to the Officers thereunto belonging

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand

and the Seal of the said Society this eleventh day of

June in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred

and ninety one

William [illegible]

Bencher



Witness

H. W. Lawrence

pro

Treasurer

Courtesy : Bombay High Cour

Gandhi's Bar-at-Law certificate, 1891

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League 344

Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920 344

Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference 344

Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press 344

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920 344

A caricature of Gandhi, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, "The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920 368

The article concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on "The music of the spinning wheel" dated July 21, 1920 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's article, "The First of August," in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920 368

"The First of August" concluded 368

Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920 368

"Lokamanya" concluded 368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

List Of Illustrations

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, 1915	Frontispiece
Delegates to the first Indian National Congress, Bombay, 1885	16
Sixth session of the Indian National Congress, Calcutta, 1890	
Delegates to the twenty-ninth Congress session, Karachi, 1913	
Social reform document, dated November 9, 1890, discouraging child marriage, dowry, etc., signed by the leaders of Maharashtra, headed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak	16
Congress membership form signed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, 1916	16
Rabindranath Tagore reading his poem " India's Prayer " at the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, 1917	16
Gandhi's birthplace : Porbandar	32
Mother : Putlibai	32
Father : Karamchand Uttamchand Gandhi	32
Mohandas at Porbandar, age 7	32
At Rajkot, age 14	
With his brother, Laxmidas, 1886	32
Alfred High School, Rajkot	32
Samaldas College, Bhavnagar	
Gandhi's matriculation result, 1887	32
Entry in the register of the Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, 1888	32
As a law student, London	40
Gandhi's first letter from London addressed to his brother, dated Friday, November 9, 1888	40
Letter to his brother, dated London, December 1888, containing a draft application for scholarship addressed to Mr. Lally, Chief Administrator, Porbandar	40
His different addresses in London	
Application for scholarship, dated December 1888, addressed from London to the Political Agent of Kathiawad	40
Concluding page of the letter	40
Facsimile of an interview with Gandhi published by the *Vegetarian*, London, dated June 13, 1891	40

craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

bungalow, which was flat, a simple kind of adjustable windscreen was fixed up, and this served to shield the roof-sleepers from the wind. The roof was always used by Gandhi during the dry season as a sleeping-place.

Sanitary arrangements on the estate were primitive, each bungalow having its own little shelter, where a bucket system was installed, and each householder was responsible personally for the emptying of the bucket at a particular place set aside for the purpose.

Indian Opinion was published weekly. Its editor was still Nazar who worked for the paper from Durban, because he did not wish to shift to Phoenix. To reduce the expense and facilitate press-work, the paper was printed only in English and Gujarati, and the Hindi and Tamil sections were dropped. The object of the paper was "to bring the European and Indian subjects of King Edward closer together; to educate the public opinion; to remove causes for misunderstanding; to put before the Indians their own blemishes; and to show them the path of duty while they insisted on securing their right."

Gandhi had hardly settled down when he had to leave the newly constructed nest and go to Johannesburg. He could not afford to leave the work there unattended for any length of time.

In December 1904 the Indian Congress met in Bombay. Sir Henry Cotton, the president, suggested that a deputation should be sent from India to bring the Indians' grievances before the British electors and candidates as the general election was approaching in England. Tilak supporting the idea urged that there should be a permanent political mission in England. This Congress recorded its emphatic protest against the threatened enforcement, in an aggressive form, of the anti-Indian legislation of the late Boer Government of the Transvaal by the British Government. Sir Henry Cotton observed: "The British rulers of the Transvaal have applied themselves with British vigour and precision to the task of enforcing Boer law. In dealing with Indian colonists, their little finger has been thicker than Mr. Kruger's loins, and where he had whips, they have chastised with scorpions."

Introduction

I CANNOT trace the origin of this book because it has written itself and it reflects the times in which I and my generation have grown. It is a dream-world from which I have not emerged. Gandhiji and his story are present all the time before my mind's eye. He is moving among us and talking to us, as he did only a few years ago. His death is but a small incident; he courted it and defied it many a time. It is only the finale to a majestic symphony.

When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

assemblage exhorted the audience to unite and organize themselves for the country's cause. Calcutta's lead was followed by Madras, Bombay and Poona. In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India during the next Christmas. This can be said to be the origin of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of which marks the most important event in the political history of India. Poona was considered the most central and, therefore, suitable place. The following circular was issued:

"A conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The conference will be composed of delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the conference will be: (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a native parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres."

The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred and the conference, now called the Congress, was moved to Bombay. The historic session of the first Congress began on December 28, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. There seventy-two representatives who elected themselves as delegates met and discussed the programme, while another thirty or so attended as friends, being as Government servants precluded from acting as representatives in a political gathering, among whom the most noteworthy were Justice Ranade and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar. Among those who participated were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Narendranath Sen. The first voices heard were those of Allan Octavian Hume, S. Subramania Iyer and Telang

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii

FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi

INTRODUCTION xvii

PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1

BIRTH OF GANDHI 27

EARLY YEARS 29

STUDENT IN LONDON 34

BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40

UNWELCOME VISITOR 43

DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49

INDIAN INTERLUDE 55

THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58

ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63

VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68

BACK TO AFRICA 73

INDIAN OPINION 78

PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81

BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84

ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91

MISSION TO LONDON 97

BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100

PRISON EXPERIENCE 108

BREACH OF FAITH 114

TO LONDON AGAIN 120

HIND SWARAJ 127

with some success to answer that question for himself. But where he is concerned not only with his own actions but with those of many others, when fate or circumstance has put him in a position of moulding and directing others, what then is he to do? How is a leader of men to function? If he is a leader, he must lead and not merely follow the dictates of the crowd, though some modern conceptions of the functioning of democracy would lead one to think that he must bow down to the largest number. If he does so, then he is no leader and he cannot take others far along the right path of human progress. If he acts singly, according to his own lights, he cuts himself off from the very persons whom he is trying to lead. If he brings himself down to the same level of understanding as others, then he has lowered himself, been untrue to his own ideal, and compromised that truth. And once such compromises begin, there is no end to them and the path is slippery. What then is he to do? It is not enough for him to perceive truth or some aspect of it. He must succeed in making others perceive it also.

The average leader of men, especially in a democratic society, has continually to adapt himself to his environment and to choose what he considers the lesser evil. Some adaptation is inevitable. But as this process goes on, occasions arise when that adaptation imperils the basic ideal and objective. I suppose there is no clear answer to this question and each individual and each generation will have to find its own answer.

The amazing thing about Gandhi was that he adhered, in all its fullness, to his ideals, his conception of truth, and yet he did succeed in moulding and moving enormous masses of human beings. He was not inflexible. He was very much alive to the necessities of the moment, and he adapted himself to changing circumstances. But all these adaptations were about secondary matters. In regard to the basic things he was inflexible and firm as a rock. There was no compromise in him with what he considered evil. He moulded a whole generation and more and raised them above themselves, for the time being at least. That was a tremendous achievement.

Does that achievement endure? It brought results which undoubtedly endure. And yet it brings some reaction in its train also. For people, compelled by some circumstance, to raise themselves above their normal level, are apt to sink back even to a lower level than previously. We see today something like that happening.

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He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

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Agarkar and Tilak started the New English School, the English weekly *Mahratta*, and the Marathi weekly *Kesari* to propagate and prepare the people for national service. The triumvirate rose rapidly to prominence. In 1896 as a result of the unbridgeable gulf between Tilak's extremist school and Ranade's moderate school of thought, the Deccan Association was inaugurated by Ranade and his pupil Gokhale.

After Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Dadabhai Naoroji, who was born in Bombay in 1825, occupied the most significant position. He was the founder in India and in England of more than thirty institutions. In the teeth of opposition Dadabhai laid the foundation of women's education in Bombay in 1849. In 1851 he started a Gujarati journal, *Rast Goftar*, as the organ of progressive views on social, religious and educational reforms. The first Indian to be a professor, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Physics at the Elphinstone College in 1854. Next year he accepted the offer to join the commercial firm of the Camas in London as he was "desirous of seeing an intimate connection established between England and India", and "particularly to provide home for young Indians so that they might freely go to England and compete for the Indian Civil Service and other services." Dadabhai, however, resigned his partnership in 1858 because he could not persuade himself to pocket earnings derived from dealings in opium, wine and spirits which led to the ruin of thousands. Dadabhai worked as Professor of Gujarati in University College, London, and actively participated in several institutions. Dadabhai founded in 1866 what is now known as the East India Association. He became an unofficial ambassador for India and worked for her in every field. In 1874 he was appointed a minister in the Baroda state and in 1885 he was nominated an additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He was elected a Member of Parliament in 1892, the first Indian so elected. His greatest gift to posterity was *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, published in 1901. He presided thrice over the Indian National Congress. In 1904 he attended the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam representing the people of India. The delegates leapt to their feet and stood uncovered before him in solemn silence to mark their respect for India's representative. On hearing Dadabhai, the Amsterdam Congress passed a resolution that it "brands Great Britain with the mark of shame for its treatment of India". The Grand Old Man of India died in 1917 at the age of ninety-two.

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We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

Copy of an important circular issued by Gandhi on the eve of accepting the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League	344
Gandhi at the reception given to Tagore at Vanita Vishram during his visit to Ahmedabad for the sixth Gujarati Literary Conference, April 1920	344
Tagore and Gandhi listening to folk-songs of Gujarat during the literary conference	344
Tagore's speech at the conference as edited by Gandhi for the press	344
Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Delhi, April 30, 1920	344
A caricature of Gandhi, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's historic article, " The Gujarat Political Conference," for *Young India*, dated June 1920	368
The article concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's note in *Young India* on " The music of the spinning wheel " dated July 21, 1920	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's article, " The First of August, " in *Young India*, dated July 28, 1920	368
" The First of August " concluded	368
Manuscript of Gandhi's obituary on Lokamanya Tilak in *Young India*, dated August 4, 1920	368
" Lokamanya " concluded	368

Jacket and fly-leaf designed by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri

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were often full of laughter and yet were pools of infinite sadness. But the picture that is dominant and most significant is as I saw him marching, staff in hand, to Dandi on the Salt March in 1930. Here was the pilgrim on his quest of Truth, quiet, peaceful, determined and fearless, who would continue that quest and pilgrimage, regardless of consequences.

Jawaharlal Nehru

Pahalgam, Kashmir
June 30, 1951

who not only took the leading part in the movement but wrote the best commentary on it.

I never knew that I would undertake this work, although I was eager for many years to examine what Gandhiji did to mould the new thought. In the beginning I was a devotee, then a critic, and am now an impartial admirer. I belong to no particular school of thought, and have had no time, so far, to give my undivided attention to his philosophy as such. I did not always agree with him, but with his all-embracing life and his courage of conviction he has attracted me much more than any other historical figure.

I remember those early years when I read *Young India* with avidity and looked forward to the next issue. For thirty years, Gandhiji fed the minds of thousands and moulded the people's character imperceptibly. With perfect co-ordination between his activities and his writings and speeches, he set a supreme example for the people to follow, though they did not always do so intelligently. Today, it may seem that his influence has vanished and that he alone was his follower. But how can the seeds of great thoughts prove so barren?

Fortunately for India, Gandhiji lived long and led an intensely active life. It touched almost every phase of the nation's activity. His contacts were varied and his experiences unique. He made a gift of his wisdom to the world through his writings and speeches, illustrated by his actions. Einstein wrote: "Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth."

I had the good fortune of receiving Gandhiji's co-operation in completing this work, which involved many years of research and took six years to write. Some of the important speeches and writings were revised by Gandhiji himself for this book. Historical facts have been checked from the original sources as well as from some of Gandhiji's colleagues. *Indian Opinion, Young India* and *Harijan* have been an important source of material, and I am greatly indebted to Mahadev Desai and to some extent to Pyarelal.

To make the work authentic and detailed, I have consulted daily newspapers of the last fifty years. All available literature, in several Indian and foreign languages, has been made use of and the chaff sifted from the grain. In doubtful cases my final authority was Gandhiji himself. When I met him last on January 22, 1948, we

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

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factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him so intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the India of his day, and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

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We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

Gandhi's letters to H. S. L. Polak and to "friend" written from Motihari in April 1917 during the Champaran struggle 248

Instructions for workers given by Gandhi during the Champaran struggle, 1917 248

Historic bulletin and circular dated Ahmedabad, 1916 and 1917 248

Documents dated Ahmedabad, 1917, drafted and circulated by Gandhi to propagate Congress-League Scheme 248

Sabarmati Ashram founded in 1917 on the bank of the river. The prayer ground and Gandhi's residence, "Hridaya Kunj" 248

Gandhi during the Kheda satyagraha, 1918 280

Rare pictures of Gandhi 280

Gandhi's views on untouchability, Nadiad, April 17, 1918 280

Lal, Bal, Pal 280

Tilak addressing a meeting at Panvel, 1918

Tilak's letter to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, dated Poona, June 13, 1918, stressing the importance of close collaboration with Gandhi 280

Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi, dated August 19, 1918 280

Gandhi's letter to Jamnalal Bajaj, dated Sabarmati, 1918, with a request for funds for ashram activities 280

Letter to N. C. Kelkar, dated Nadiad, June 23, 1918

Letter to Mahadev Desai, dated December 1919

A sketch of Gandhi from life, Madras, 1918 280

Gandhi addressing the Muslims in a mosque, Bombay, April 6, 1919 312

Mrs. Naidu addressing the meeting after Gandhi 312

Gandhi and Umar Sobani coming down the staircase of a mosque 312

Martial-law regime in the Punjab, 1919 312

Historic satyagraha bulletin, 1919 312

Pages from *Young India*, published in Bombay 312

Gandhi's letter to the press, announcing temporary suspension of satyagraha movement 312

First issue of *Navajivan*, dated Ahmedabad, September 7, 1919 312

Sale memo of khadi piece prepared by Gandhi at the opening ceremony of Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay, October 1, 1919 312

First issue of *Young India*, dated Ahmedabad, October 8, 1919 312

Gandhi's letter to Tagore, dated Sabarmati Ashram, October 18, 1919 312

Prominent delegates to the Amritsar Congress, 1919—Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Shraddhanand, Mrs. Besant, Malaviya, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurti 312

Gandhi in "Gandhi cap" invented by him, 1920 344

Important news conveyed by Mahadev to G. A. Natesan on behalf of Gandhi, 1919 344

Manuscript of Gandhi's notes and articles for *Young India*, dated March 1919, March 10, 1920, and March 31, 1920 344

ROLL CALL OF THE SAMALDAS COLLEGE FOR THE MONTH OF January

ROLL CALL OF THE SAMALDAS COLLEGE FOR THE MONTH OF June

Courtesy : Principal, Samaldas College

Entry in the register of the Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, 1888

craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

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craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

Agarkar and Tilak started the New English School, the English weekly *Mahratta*, and the Marathi weekly *Kesari* to propagate and prepare the people for national service. The triumvirate rose rapidly to prominence. In 1896 as a result of the unbridgeable gulf between Tilak's extremist school and Ranade's moderate school of thought, the Deccan Association was inaugurated by Ranade and his pupil Gokhale.

After Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Dadabhai Naoroji, who was born in Bombay in 1825, occupied the most significant position. He was the founder in India and in England of more than thirty institutions. In the teeth of opposition Dadabhai laid the foundation of women's education in Bombay in 1849. In 1851 he started a Gujarati journal, *Rast Goftar*, as the organ of progressive views on social, religious and educational reforms. The first Indian to be a professor, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Physics at the Elphinstone College in 1854. Next year he accepted the offer to join the commercial firm of the Camas in London as he was "desirous of seeing an intimate connection established between England and India", and "particularly to provide home for young Indians so that they might freely go to England and compete for the Indian Civil Service and other services." Dadabhai, however, resigned his partnership in 1858 because he could not persuade himself to pocket earnings derived from dealings in opium, wine and spirits which led to the ruin of thousands. Dadabhai worked as Professor of Gujarati in University College, London, and actively participated in several institutions. Dadabhai founded in 1866 what is now known as the East India Association. He became an unofficial ambassador for India and worked for her in every field. In 1874 he was appointed a minister in the Baroda state and in 1885 he was nominated an additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He was elected a Member of Parliament in 1892, the first Indian so elected. His greatest gift to posterity was *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, published in 1901. He presided thrice over the Indian National Congress. In 1904 he attended the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam representing the people of India. The delegates leapt to their feet and stood uncovered before him in solemn silence to mark their respect for India's representative. On hearing Dadabhai, the Amsterdam Congress passed a resolution that it "brands Great Britain with the mark of shame for its treatment of India". The Grand Old Man of India died in 1917 at the age of ninety-two.

bungalow, which was flat, a simple kind of adjustable windscreen was fixed up, and this served to shield the roof-sleepers from the wind. The roof was always used by Gandhi during the dry season as a sleeping-place.

Sanitary arrangements on the estate were primitive, each bungalow having its own little shelter, where a bucket system was installed, and each householder was responsible personally for the emptying of the bucket at a particular place set aside for the purpose.

Indian Opinion was published weekly. Its editor was still Nazar who worked for the paper from Durban, because he did not wish to shift to Phoenix. To reduce the expense and facilitate press-work, the paper was printed only in English and Gujarati, and the Hindi and Tamil sections were dropped. The object of the paper was "to bring the European and Indian subjects of King Edward closer together; to educate the public opinion; to remove causes for misunderstanding; to put before the Indians their own blemishes; and to show them the path of duty while they insisted on securing their right."

Gandhi had hardly settled down when he had to leave the newly constructed nest and go to Johannesburg. He could not afford to leave the work there unattended for any length of time.

In December 1904 the Indian Congress met in Bombay. Sir Henry Cotton, the president, suggested that a deputation should be sent from India to bring the Indians' grievances before the British electors and candidates as the general election was approaching in England. Tilak supporting the idea urged that there should be a permanent political mission in England. This Congress recorded its emphatic protest against the threatened enforcement, in an aggressive form, of the anti-Indian legislation of the late Boer Government of the Transvaal by the British Government. Sir Henry Cotton observed: "The British rulers of the Transvaal have applied themselves with British vigour and precision to the task of enforcing Boer law. In dealing with Indian colonists, their little finger has been thicker than Mr. Kruger's loins, and where he had whips, they have chastised with scorpions."

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A postcard written to Manilal, his son, during the voyage, October 14, 1906 104

Gandhi's letters to Dadabhai Naoroji, 1906-1907 104

Gandhi's letter to Gokhale, dated December 3, 1906 104

Pages from the manuscript of *Hind Swaraj* ; lower half of the second page written with left hand 104

Gandhi at Phoenix Settlement with his colleagues 104

Gandhi in London, 1909 144

His letters to Narandas Gandhi from London, 1909 144

Letter to Maganlal Gandhi from Tolstoy Farm

Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy, dated London, November 10, 1909 144

Another letter by Gandhi to Tolstoy, dated Johannesburg, 1910 144

A draft letter to Gandhi written by Tolstoy on May 8, 1910 144

Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy from Johannesburg, August 15, 1910 144

Tolstoy Farm, 1910 144

Gandhi and Kallenbach with the pioneer settlers at Tolstoy Farm

A leaf from Gandhi's diary, 1910 144

Gandhi's activities as caricatured in South African journals 160

Gandhi's letter to G. A. Natesan, dated Tolstoy Farm, December 9, 1910 160

Letter continued 160

Letter continued 160

Letter concluded 160

Letter to G. A. Natesan, dated May 31, 1911 160

Letter concluded 160

Gandhi receives Gokhale at Capetown, October 22, 1912 160

Gokhale and Gandhi on the way to a public reception

Gokhale's reception at Lord's Ground, Durban 160

Gokhale with Gandhi, Kallenbach and members of the Reception Committee, Durban

Gokhale and Gandhi in cartoons 160

Pages from Kallenbach's diary, Tolstoy Farm, 1912 160

Maulana Azad's *Al-Hilal*, dated Calcutta, December 3, 1913, backs Gandhi's struggle in South Africa 160

At Verulum with Mrs. Gandhi, August 1913 176

Gandhi with Kallenbach and Miss Schlesin, before the historic march of 1913 176

On march through Volksrust crossing into the Transvaal 176

Gandhi after his arrest, 1913 176

Gandhi's prison ticket, Bloemfontein, 1913-14 176

Epic March : Oct.-Nov. 1913 with 2,037 men, 127 women, 75 children, Newcastle to Volksrust 176

We saw that reaction in the tragedy of Gandhi's own assassination. What is worse is the general lowering of standards, when Gandhi's whole life was devoted to the raising of these very standards. Perhaps this is a temporary phase and people will recover from it and find themselves again. I have no doubt that, deep in the consciousness of India, the basic teachings of Gandhi will endure and will affect our national life.

No man can write a real life of Gandhi, unless he is as big as Gandhi. So we can expect to have no real and fully adequate life of this man. Difficult as it is to write a life of Gandhi, this task becomes far more difficult because his life has become an intimate part of India's life for half a century or more. Yet it may be that if many attempt to write his life, they may succeed in throwing light on some aspects of this unique career and also give others some understanding of this memorable period of India's history.

Tendulkar has laboured for many years over this book. He told me about it during Gandhiji's lifetime and I remember his consulting Gandhiji a few months before his death. Anyone can see that this work has involved great and devoted labour for many long years. It brings together more facts and data about Gandhi than any book that I know. It is immaterial whether we agree with any interpretation or opinion of the author. We are given here a mass of evidence and we can form our own opinions. Therefore, I consider this book to be of great value as a record not only of the life of a man supreme in his generation, but also of a period of India's history which has intrinsic importance of its own. We live today in a world torn with hatred and violence and fear and passion, and the shadow of war hangs heavily over us all. Gandhi told us to cast away our fear and passion and to keep away from hatred and violence. His voice may not be heard by many in the tumult and shouting of today, but it will have to be heard and understood some time or other, if this world is to survive in any civilized form.

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave some significance to our petty lives, and whose passing away has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes

self-sacrifice. Moreover, that spirit was displayed not by men only but by women and children. The brave Boer women took part even in fighting, and when they could not do that they encouraged their husbands and sons to fight and die for their country and their independence. Women and children suffered hardships, but would not ask their men to stop the struggle. The Boer War was to Gandhi a great experience which left its marks upon him and something to mould his character.

In India the Boer War made little impression on the nationalist opinion. The people were going through famines and were in a state of despair. The fifteenth Congress was held at Lucknow in December 1899. It was presided over by Romesh Chunder Dutt who treated at length the famine and the hardships of the poorer classes in India. The Congress referred to the plight of the Indians in South Africa.

The Congress held at Lahore in 1900 passed a new resolution on the South African question. It took into consideration the fact that the British had annexed the Transvaal in September 1900. The Congress pointed out that now the British were in a position to redress the disabilities of the Indians as the Transvaal was no more a Boer colony. The Boers had not taken kindly to the Indian settlers. Lord Landsdowne, Secretary of State for War and ex-Viceroy of India, had after the Boer War, assured a Sheffield audience that of all the misdeeds of the Boers, none filled him with so much anger as their treatment of the British Indians in the Transvaal.

Gandhi had stayed in South Africa six years instead of one month as originally intended and he now requested his co-workers to relieve him. He was afraid that his main job in South Africa now might become money-making. Friends in India were pressing Gandhi to return and he felt that he should be of more service in India. With great reluctance his request was accepted on condition that Gandhi should return if, within a year, the community should need him.

There were farewell meetings in several places in Natal and everywhere costly gifts were presented to Gandhi in silver, gold and diamonds. One of the gifts was a gold necklace worth fifty guineas, meant for Kasturbai. Gandhi decided not to keep these gifts. But the decision was not so easy:

"The evening I was presented with the bulk of these things I had a sleepless night. I walked up and down my room deeply agitated, but

factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him so intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the India of his day, and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

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It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

A postcard written to Manilal, his son, during the voyage, October 14, 1906 104
Gandhi's letters to Dadabhai Naoroji, 1906-1907 104
Gandhi's letter to Gokhale, dated December 3, 1906 104
Pages from the manuscript of *Hind Swaraj* ; lower half of the second page written with left hand 104
Gandhi at Phoenix Settlement with his colleagues 104
Gandhi in London, 1909 144
His letters to Narandas Gandhi from London, 1909 144
Letter to Maganlal Gandhi from Tolstoy Farm
Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy, dated London, November 10, 1909 144
Another letter by Gandhi to Tolstoy, dated Johannesburg, 1910 144
A draft letter to Gandhi written by Tolstoy on May 8, 1910 144
Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy from Johannesburg, August 15, 1910 144
Tolstoy Farm, 1910 144
Gandhi and Kallenbach with the pioneer settlers at Tolstoy Farm
A leaf from Gandhi's diary, 1910 144
Gandhi's activities as caricatured in South African journals 160
Gandhi's letter to G. A. Natesan, dated Tolstoy Farm, December 9, 1910 160
Letter continued 160
Letter continued 160
Letter concluded 160
Letter to G. A. Natesan, dated May 31, 1911 160
Letter concluded 160
Gandhi receives Gokhale at Capetown, October 22, 1912 160
Gokhale and Gandhi on the way to a public reception
Gokhale's reception at Lord's Ground, Durban 160
Gokhale with Gandhi, Kallenbach and members of the Reception Committee, Durban
Gokhale and Gandhi in cartoons 160
Pages from Kallenbach's diary, Tolstoy Farm, 1912 160
Maulana Azad's *Al-Hilal*, dated Calcutta, December 3, 1913, backs Gandhi's struggle in South Africa 160
At Verulum with Mrs. Gandhi, August 1913 176
Gandhi with Kallenbach and Miss Schlesin, before the historic march of 1913 176
On march through Volksrust crossing into the Transvaal 176
Gandhi after his arrest, 1913 176
Gandhi's prison ticket, Bloemfontein, 1913-14 176
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growing and spreading over India—'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them. Be sure that before long the Muslims will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you,' and so forth." The Moderates pinned their hopes on Lord Morley, the author of *Compromise.* Whilst the Government of India were following a policy of ruthless repression against the Extremists, they were evolving a strategy to rally the Moderates, the Muslims, the landlords and the princes to their side. On November 2, 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's Proclamation, King Edward VII sent a message to the princes and people of India foreshadowing political reforms. On December 17 Lord Morley placed reforms proposals before Parliament. The Indian National Congress which met at Madras, shorn of its left wing, gave a hearty welcome to the Morley-Minto scheme. It became the Indian Councils Act, 1909, on May 15, and was put into force on November 15. Much water flowed down the bridges during 1908–9. The reforms were severely criticized even by the Moderates. This Pandora's box had a history behind it.

A Muslim deputation headed by the Aga Khan presented to Lord Minto an address on October 1, 1906. It was a long document, and it made two important demands on behalf of the Muslim community. First, that "the position accorded to the Muslim community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength, but also with the practical importance and the value of the contributions which they make to the defence of the empire" and with due regard to "the position they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago". Secondly, in the proposed reforms they should be given the right of sending their own representatives themselves through separate communal electorates. It was an open secret that the deputation was a "command performance", as Maulana Mahomed Ali later called it. Lord Minto in his reply accepted the position taken up by the deputation. He said, "I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent."

C/o Messrs Dada Abdulla & Co.
Durban
14-7-94

To
The Hon. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji
M.P.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter dated the 7th instant, I have to inform you of the progress of the movement against the Franchise Law Amendment Bill as follows:

The Bill passed the 3rd reading in the Legislative Council on the 7th instant. The other petition to the Council was accepted. One Hon. member moved the postponement of the 3rd reading till the petition was considered by the House. The motion was rejected.

The Governor has given his assent to the Bill subject to its being disallowed by Her Majesty. The Bill has a proviso in it that it shall not become law until by a proclamation or otherwise the Governor signifies that it is not Her Majesty's pleasure to disallow the Bill.

I send you herewith a copy of the petition to the Home Government that will be sent to the Governor probably on the 17th instant. It will be signed by nearly 10000 Indians. Nearly 5000 signatures have already been received.

I regret to say that I am unable to send you a copy of the petition to the Council. I however beg to send a newspaper cutting which gives a fairly good report.

I do not think there remains anything more to be added. The situation is so critical that if the Franchise Bill becomes law, the position of the Indian 10 years hence will be simply intolerable in the Colony.

I remain
Your obedient servant
M. K. Gandhi

Courtesy: R. P

A weekly letter to Dadabhai Naoroji, dated Durban, July 14, 1894

factor is so strong that it comes in the way of a correct appraisal. Others, who did not know him so intimately, cannot perhaps have full realization of the living fire that was in this man of peace and humility. So both these groups lack proper perspective or knowledge. Whether that perspective will come in later years when the problems and conflicts of today are matters for the historian, I do not know. But I have no doubt that in the distant, as in the near, future this towering personality will stand out and compel homage. It may be that the message which he embodied will be understood and acted upon more in later years than it is today. That message was not confined to a particular country or a community. Whatever truth there was in it was a truth applicable to all countries and to humanity as a whole. He may have stressed certain aspects of it in relation to the India of his day, and those particular aspects may cease to have much significance as times and conditions change. The kernel of that message was, however, not confined to time or space. And if this is so, then it will endure and grow in the understanding of man.

He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

assemblage exhorted the audience to unite and organize themselves for the country's cause. Calcutta's lead was followed by Madras, Bombay and Poona. In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India during the next Christmas. This can be said to be the origin of the Indian National Congress, the foundation of which marks the most important event in the political history of India. Poona was considered the most central and, therefore, suitable place. The following circular was issued:

"A conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The conference will be composed of delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the conference will be: (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a native parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres."

The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred and the conference, now called the Congress, was moved to Bombay. The historic session of the first Congress began on December 28, 1885, in the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College on the Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay. There seventy-two representatives who elected themselves as delegates met and discussed the programme, while another thirty or so attended as friends, being as Government servants precluded from acting as representatives in a political gathering, among whom the most noteworthy were Justice Ranade and Professor R. G. Bhandarkar. Among those who participated were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, D. E. Wacha, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, N. G. Chandavarkar, S. Subramania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, Narendranath Sen. The first voices heard were those of Allan Octavian Hume, S. Subramania Iyer and Telang

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Introduction

I CANNOT trace the origin of this book because it has written itself and it reflects the times in which I and my generation have grown. It is a dream-world from which I have not emerged. Gandhiji and his story are present all the time before my mind's eye. He is moving among us and talking to us, as he did only a few years ago. His death is but a small incident; he courted it and defied it many a time. It is only the finale to a majestic symphony.

When I look back, the death of Tilak and the national mourning come to my mind, with a vivid picture of Gandhiji leading the people, the very next day, to heroic heights. The first of August, 1920, is fixed deeply in the subconscious, though it was just the beginning of a great drama, developing almost without a flaw. I was then only ten years old.

I was drawn into the whirlwind of revolution like the millions. It was a queer revolution, defying the Government in the open, in which the whole nation participated, pitting indomitable will against brute force. The mind became at once free, and defied starvation and death, and followed the great leader wherever he wanted us to go. It was not merely hero-worship but consciousness of strength, with which he imbued the people to break the shackles of their enslaved minds.

There were ups and downs in the nation's progress, but no stagnation. Gandhiji knew no defeat and inspired the people to march along a path never trodden before.

The present work is a simple narration of the events through which we have lived. It is a history of the last fifty years or so with Gandhiji in the foreground. There is no attempt either at moralization or dramatization of these exciting times. I have tried to tell the story faithfully and, as far as possible, in the words of Gandhiji,

Contents

GANDHIJI'S LETTERS *to the Author* vii
FOREWORD *by Jawaharlal Nehru* xi
INTRODUCTION xvii
PLASSEY TO AMRITSAR 1
BIRTH OF GANDHI 27
EARLY YEARS 29
STUDENT IN LONDON 34
BRIEFLESS BARRISTER 40
UNWELCOME VISITOR 43
DAWN OVER THE DARK LAND 49
INDIAN INTERLUDE 55
THE WHITES BEAT GANDHI 58
ON THE BATTLEFIELD 63
VISIT TO THE CONGRESS 68
BACK TO AFRICA 73
INDIAN OPINION 78
PHOENIX SETTLEMENT 81
BACK TO JOHANNESBURG 84
ZULU REBELLION AND AFTER 91
MISSION TO LONDON 97
BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA 100
PRISON EXPERIENCE 108
BREACH OF FAITH 114
TO LONDON AGAIN 120
HIND SWARAJ 127

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He brought freedom to India and in that process he taught us many things which were important for us at the moment. He told us to shed fear and hatred, and of unity and equality and brotherhood, and of raising those who had been suppressed, and of the dignity of labour and of the supremacy of things of the spirit. Above all, he spoke and wrote unceasingly of truth in relation to all our activities. He repeated that Truth was to him God and God was Truth. Scholars may raise their eyebrows, and philosophers and cynics repeat the old question: what is Truth? Few of us dare to answer that question with any assurance and it may be that the answer itself is many-sided and our limited intelligence cannot grasp the whole. But, however limited the functioning of our minds may be or our capacity for intuition, each one of us must, I suppose, have some limited idea of truth, as he sees it. Will he act upto it, regardless of consequences, and not compromise with what he himself considers an aberration from it? Will he even in search of a right goal compromise with the means to attain it? Will he subordinate means to ends?

It is easy to frame this question, rather rhetorically, as if there was only one answer. But life is terribly complicated and the choices it offers are never simple. Perhaps, to some extent, an individual, leading his individual and rather isolated life, may endeavour

growing and spreading over India—'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them. Be sure that before long the Muslims will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you,' and so forth." The Moderates pinned their hopes on Lord Morley, the author of *Compromise*. Whilst the Government of India were following a policy of ruthless repression against the Extremists, they were evolving a strategy to rally the Moderates, the Muslims, the landlords and the princes to their side. On November 2, 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's Proclamation, King Edward VII sent a message to the princes and people of India foreshadowing political reforms. On December 17 Lord Morley placed reforms proposals before Parliament. The Indian National Congress which met at Madras, shorn of its left wing, gave a hearty welcome to the Morley-Minto scheme. It became the Indian Councils Act, 1909, on May 15, and was put into force on November 15. Much water flowed down the bridges during 1908–9. The reforms were severely criticized even by the Moderates. This Pandora's box had a history behind it.

A Muslim deputation headed by the Aga Khan presented to Lord Minto an address on October 1, 1906. It was a long document, and it made two important demands on behalf of the Muslim community. First, that "the position accorded to the Muslim community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength, but also with the practical importance and the value of the contributions which they make to the defence of the empire" and with due regard to "the position they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago". Secondly, in the proposed reforms they should be given the right of sending their own representatives themselves through separate communal electorates. It was an open secret that the deputation was a "command performance", as Maulana Mahomed Ali later called it. Lord Minto in his reply accepted the position taken up by the deputation. He said, "I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent."

India Backs Gandhi

1909

GANDHI's mission to London bore no fruit. Replying to a question in the House of Lords, Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, on November 17, 1909, remarked: "The spokesmen for the Indians have put their case with skill and fairness. The Transvaal ministers were willing to meet the majority of difficulties. There remains, however, the theoretical grievance that the Transvaal was shutting out the Asiatics. We cannot thwart the policy of self-governing colonies of South Africa."

In India, the people heard of the homes broken and the families ruined in the struggle. Fathers and sons sometimes had gone to jail simultaneously, leaving poor mothers and wives to maintain themselves by hawking fruit and vegetables. Merchants, who had never undergone physical exertion, had been breaking stones or doing scavengers' work in the Transvaal jails, wretchedly fed and scantily dressed in the chill winter.

Gokhale, addressing a meeting in Bombay, gave the following graphic description: "You will see that the first part of this resolution is practically identical with a resolution which was adopted in this very hall at the beginning of last year by a public meeting presided over by the Aga Khan. The position today is far worse than it was when the last meeting was held. Again out of about 8,000 men in the Transvaal 7,500 were engaged in the struggle. Today the total Indian population in that colony has dropped to less than 6,000; and though most of these are in deep sympathy with the struggle and are helping it financially and in other ways, the brunt of the prosecution is being borne by a brave band of about 500 Indians, led by the indomitable Gandhi, a man of tremendous spiritual power, one who is made of the stuff of which great heroes and martyrs are made. Those who will speak to the second resolution will tell you what dreadful hardships and sufferings have been endured by the passive

craftsmen were forced to fall back on agriculture as their sole means of subsistence and survival. Between 1770 and 1900 — 130 years — there were twenty-two famines. Millions of people died of starvation and the survivors had not much strength left to resist the evils of foreign domination. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India." The impoverished nation, however, rose heroically in revolt.

The Revolt of 1857 threw everything in confusion and its suppression was followed by the abolition of the East India Company and by the assumption of the government of the country by the British sovereign. By the Act for the Better Government of India passed in August 1858, the authority of the directors and of the Board of Control was transferred to the Secretary of State responsible as a member of the cabinet to Parliament. In November 1858 Lord Canning, now styled Viceroy as well as Governor-General, formally announced the change through a Royal Proclamation. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duties which bind us to all our other subjects. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward."

For many years the proclamation acted like a balm and Indian leaders vied with one another in their loyalty to the British crown. But regarding the pledge of equal status for all British subjects, Lord Lytton who was the Viceroy from 1876 to 1880, in a confidential letter to the Secretary of State for India, wrote, "We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled." One Indian entered the Indian Civil Service in 1864, three more in 1871. As late as 1913 over eighty per cent of the highest and best paid posts in the civil service as a whole were still in British hands. In Britain public interest in India, excited for a time by the 1857 rebellion, was dying down. Only on rare occasions could Indian policy be made an issue in party warfare, for the leaders on both sides were agreed that self-government for India was not yet practical politics. Disraeli, for example, presented Queen Victoria with the imperial title in 1876 in order, as he said, to show the world that "the Parliament of England has resolved to uphold the Empire of India." John Bright, in every way Disraeli's opposite, was as convinced as any Tory that the attainment of India's freedom would be a matter of "generations".

A postcard written to Manilal, his son, during the voyage, October 14, 1906 104
Gandhi's letters to Dadabhai Naoroji, 1906-1907 104
Gandhi's letter to Gokhale, dated December 3, 1906 104
Pages from the manuscript of *Hind Swaraj* ; lower half of the second page written with left hand 104
Gandhi at Phoenix Settlement with his colleagues 104
Gandhi in London, 1909 144
His letters to Narandas Gandhi from London, 1909 144
Letter to Maganlal Gandhi from Tolstoy Farm
Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy, dated London, November 10, 1909 144
Another letter by Gandhi to Tolstoy, dated Johannesburg, 1910 144
A draft letter to Gandhi written by Tolstoy on May 8, 1910 144
Gandhi's letter to Tolstoy from Johannesburg, August 15, 1910 144
Tolstoy Farm, 1910 144
Gandhi and Kallenbach with the pioneer settlers at Tolstoy Farm
A leaf from Gandhi's diary, 1910 144
Gandhi's activities as caricatured in South African journals 160
Gandhi's letter to G. A. Natesan, dated Tolstoy Farm, December 9, 1910 160
Letter continued 160
Letter continued 160
Letter concluded 160
Letter to G. A. Natesan, dated May 31, 1911 160
Letter concluded 160
Gandhi receives Gokhale at Capetown, October 22, 1912 160
Gokhale and Gandhi on the way to a public reception
Gokhale's reception at Lord's Ground, Durban 160
Gokhale with Gandhi, Kallenbach and members of the Reception Committee, Durban
Gokhale and Gandhi in cartoons 160
Pages from Kallenbach's diary, Tolstoy Farm, 1912 160
Maulana Azad's *Al-Hilal*, dated Calcutta, December 3, 1913, backs Gandhi's struggle in South Africa 160
At Verulum with Mrs. Gandhi, August 1913 176
Gandhi with Kallenbach and Miss Schlesin, before the historic march of 1913 176
On march through Volksrust crossing into the Transvaal 176
Gandhi after his arrest, 1913 176
Gandhi's prison ticket, Bloemfontein, 1913-14 176
Epic March : Oct.-Nov. 1913 with 2,037 men, 127 women, 75 children, Newcastle to Volksrust 176

Student In London

1888–1891

IN COMPANY with a Junagadh lawyer, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, aged nineteen, sailed from Bombay on September 4, 1888, reaching Southampton at the end of the month. He carried with him four letters of introduction to Dr. P. J. Mehta, Mr. Dalpatram Shukla, the great cricketer Prince Ranjitsinhji, and the most precious one to Dadabhai Naoroji. Actually the Maharashtrian friend who gave the note had never known Dadabhai personally. But he thought it might induce the shy Mohandas to meet the easily accessible Dadabhai who had recently presided over the second Congress held at Calcutta in 1886.

On the steamer, young Gandhi wore a black suit. Most of the time he confined himself to his cabin and being shy he ate food there. He touched no meat or wine on the journey and his meals consisted only of sweets and fruits which he had brought with him. Mohandas even secured a certificate from a fellow passenger that he ate no meat on the steamer. He stepped ashore in white flannels, the only person wearing such clothes.

Dr. Mehta, a friend of the Gandhi family, came to see Mohandas on the day of his arrival in London at the Victoria Hotel. Gandhi was intrigued to see his silken top hat and out of curiosity passed his hand over it in the wrong way and disturbed the fur. Immediately Dr. Mehta gave him the first lesson in European etiquette: "Do not touch other people's things. Do not ask questions as we do in India at first acquaintance; do not talk loudly. Never address people as 'Sir' whilst speaking to them as we do in India, only servants and subordinates address their master that way."

Gandhi found everything around him strange; he would continually think of his home and country. On the fourth day of his arrival he shifted from the hotel, which had cost him one pound a day, to less expensive quarters in a boarding-house kept by an English

Moderates, 19, 21, 24, 127, 190, 191, 230, 232, 235, 263, 266, 283, 286, 288, 289, 335, 368
Mohani, Hasrat, 216, 333
Montagu-Chelmsford Act, Scheme, 283, 284, 289; Report, 286, 287, 288, 290
Montagu, E. S., 264, 265, 286, 338, 339, 347, 359; "on the Khilafat agitation", by Gandhi, 363-6
Mookerjee, Asutosh, 7
Morley, John, 20, 21, 97
Morley-Minto Reform, Scheme, 21, 22
Morris, William, 38
Müller, Max, 7, 15, 38, 56, 204; *India —What can it teach us*, 53
Murray, Gilbert, on Gandhi, 185
Muslim League, 22, 24, 137, 218, 233-5, 263, 266, 267, 339
Muslin, Dacca, 1, 354

NAIDU, P. K., 170, 172, 173
Naidu, Mrs. Sarojini, 187, 188, 218, 293, 295
Naidu, Thambi, 108, 112, 143
Nanak, 239
Naoroji, Dadabhai, 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 18, 34, 37, 51, 74, 97, 98, 99, 100, 160, 265, 267; *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*, 6
Natal Indian Congress, 51, 52, 54, 61, 91
Natal Mercury, 179
Natesan, G. A., 115, 135, 137, 200
National Week, 349
Nationalists, see Extremists
Nature cure, Gandhi's experiments in, 71, 78, 86, 118, 119, 145, 282
Navajivan, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327
Nazar, Mansukhlal, 79
Negroes, 45, 108, 109, 176
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 369
Nehru, Motilal, 231, 264, 321, 329, 336, 353
Nivedita, Sister, 69
No Breakfast Association, 76
Non-Co-operation, birth of, 333; 344, 345, 355, 357, 360, 364, 366-8
Non-Co-operation Committee, 360-1
Non-possession, Gandhi's, 65-7, 75, 92, 145, 146, 156, 160, 186, 208
Non-violence, 44, 46, 61, 112, 145, 169, 203, 208, 262, 285, 336
Notre Dame, 37

O'DWYER, Sir Michael, 312, 314, 337, 356
Oldfield, Dr. Josia, 36

PAL, Bepin Chandra, 16, 99, 118, 232
Panchayat, 13, 228
Pandya, Mohanlal, 271, 273
Pankhurst, Mrs., 124
Paramahansa Mandal, 5
Parikh, Narhari, 259, 260
Parikh, Shankarlal, 271
Paris, Gandhi's visit to, 37
Parker, Dr., 36
Partition of Bengal, 14, 17, 18, 23, 76, 90, 98, 99, 155
Passive resistance or registers, 17, 95, 103, 114, 115, 124, 128, 131, 133, 134-5, 136, 139, 140, 147, 148, 153, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 171, 176, 201, 203, 315, see also satyagraha
Passive Resistance Relief Fund, 135, 137, 138, 139, 141, 178, 179, 180
Patanjal, *Yoga Sutra*, 75, 120
Patel, Vallabhbhai, 268, 270, 271, 274, 284, 293, 295
Patel, Vithalbhai, 271, 296
Pathan, 110, 111, 112, 113, 116
Patriotism, Gandhi's, 31, 129, 206, 208
Pearson, William, 178, 197
Pentland, Lord, 191, 263
Petit, J. B., 137, 138, 193, 244
Phoenix, Settlement, 81-3, 89, 91, 93, 113, 118, 138, 139, 145, 156, 161, 166, 183, 191, 192, 195, 196, 199
Pioneer, 55
Plague, 15, 55-6, 78-9, 262
Polak, H. S. L., 79, 84, 85, 93, 173, 174, 175, 252
Politics, 204, 227
Prahlad, 93, 208
Prarthana Samaj, 5, 8
Prayer, 36, 45, 54, 85, 145, 161-2
Princes and States, Indian, 8, 129, 179, 223, 227
Purdah, 248

QUINN, Mr., 103, 108, 152
Quit India, 224

RAJAGOPALACHARI, C., 296, 297
Rajchandra, 40, 47, 53, 58
Rajendra Prasad, 245, 246, 249, 252, 256, 259
Rama, 32

Foreword

NEARLY three and a half years have gone by since Gandhiji passed away. The manner of his death was the culmination and perfect climax to an astonishing career. Even during his life innumerable stories and legends had grown around him, and now he seems almost a legendary figure, one in the great line of India's sages and heroes and wise men. A new generation grows up to whom he is almost a name, a great name to be revered, but nevertheless a name. Within a few more years there will not be many left who have come in personal contact with him and had experience of that vivid, virile and magnificent personality. The legend will grow and take many shapes, sometimes with little truth in it. Succeeding generations will remember him and pay honour to him. As is India's way, we shall add him to our pantheon and celebrate the day of his birth and the day of his passing away. We shall shout *jai* when his name is mentioned and perhaps feel a little elated in the process and that we have done our duty to him.

What gods there are, I know not and am not concerned about them. But there are certain rare qualities which raise a man above the common herd and appear to make him as made of different clay. The long story of humanity can be considered from many points of view; it is a story of the advance and growth of man and the spirit of man, it is also a story full of agony and tragedy. It is a story of masses of men and women in ferment and in movement, and it is also the story of great and outstanding personalities who have given content and shape to that movement of masses.

In that story Gandhi occupies and will occupy a pre-eminent place. We are too near him to judge him correctly. Some of us came into intimate contact with him and were influenced by that dominating and very lovable personality. We miss him terribly now for he had become a part of our own lives. With us the personal

TAGORE, Debendranath, 8, 70
Tagore, Rabindranath, 8, 12, 15, 19, 191; letter to Gandhi, 192; 197, 198, 216, 266; appeal to Gandhi, 315-16; 318-19, 353, 354
Tairsee, L. R., 295
Tata, R. J., 135, 137
Tea-drinking, 35, 109, 229-30
Telang, K. T., 5, 9
Terrorists, 15, 20, 23, 125, 198, 203, 224-5, see also anarchist
Thakkar, Amritlal alias Bapa, 211, 271
Theosophists, Theosophy, 8, 36, 75; Gandhi on 86-7
Thoreau, 120, 121-2, 133, 163, 357
Tilak, B. G., 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 25, 56, 68, 69, 83, 99, 190, 191, 195, 216, 217, 230, 231, 232, 234, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 277, 280; Gandhi's letter to, 283; 286, 288, 289, 290, 291, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 344, 349, 351, 352, 368, 369; his obituary by Gandhi, 370-1
Times (London), 98, 176
Tolstoy Farm, 142-6, 152, 156, 158, 161, 166, 169, 171, 172, 174
Tolstoy, Leo, 24, 37, 40, 47, 54, 109, 120, 126, 132, 133, 142; his correspondence with Gandhi, 147-51, 151, 156; *The Gospel in Brief*, 54; *The Kingdom of God is within you*, 47; "Letter to a Hindu", 147
Trustee, 103, 132
Truth, 31, 37, 45, 52, 208, 209, 342-3, 356
Tulsidas, 32
Turkey, 23, 330, 344, 351, 352, 358, 359
Tyabji, Abbas, 329
Tyabji, Badrudin, 5, 13, 41, 56
Tyeb Sheth, 47, 74
Tyler, Watt, 355

ULEMA, 343
Untouchability, 32, 56, 61, 204-5, 211-12, 267
Upanishads, 53, 120

VALLIAMMA, 181
Varma, Shyamji Krishna, 20
Veeraraghavachariar, M., 5, 9
Vegetarian, 36, 38
Vegetarian Society, London, 36
Vegetarianism, 35, 76, 119
Victoria, Queen, 2, 29, 50, 56, 68
Vijayaraghavachari, 297
Village, 228, 281, 327-8
Viramgam customs cordon, 196
Vishwanath temple, Kashi, 71, 222
Vivekananda, 8, 20, 70, 75; *Raja Yoga*, 75
Voice, within us, 236
Vows, 31, 33, 176, 183, 197, 199, 208-9

WACHA, D. E., 5, 9, 13, 56, 68, 218, 287, 298
War, 1914-18, 23, 186; Gandhi's participation in, 186-8, 284-5
War Conference, 277, 279, 280
Weavers, handloom-weaving, 1, 2, 205, 207, 209, 210; experiment in the ashram, 212-13; 339, 361
Webb, Sydney, 38
Wedderburn, Sir William, 10, 12, 39, 97
West, A., 79, 80, 81
Williams, Monier, 7
Willingdon, Lord, 195, 196, 280
Wilson, President, 290
Women, 124, 167-8, 215, 248, 276, 334-5
Woodgate, General, 64

YAJNIK, Indulal, 271, 322
Young India, 322-6, 327, 353
Yule, George, 12, 13, 39

ZOROASTRIANISM, 144
Zulu, 82; rebellion, 91-2